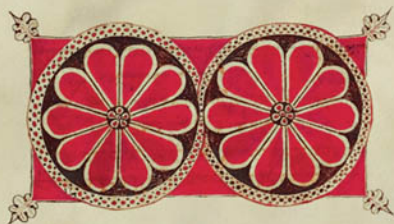




*The Reign of God and Rome
in Luke's Passion Narrative*

AN EAST ASIAN GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE



YONG-SUNG AHN

BRILL

The Reign of God and Rome in Luke's
Passion Narrative

Biblical Interpretation Series

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An East Asian Global Perspective

by

Yong-Sung Ahn



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PREFACE

This book is a revision of my Graduate Theological Union dissertation (2005), and it represents both a culmination and a significant step in a long-pursued, ongoing journey toward opening cultural interpretation of the Bible from an East Asian perspective. In this project, I take an interdisciplinary approach, combining postcolonial cultural studies and historical analysis, in order simultaneously to gain new critical insight into Luke-Acts and to deepen the text's meaning in my own reading context. The present stage of this work would have never been attained were it not for the support, encouragement, and assistance provided by many people.

I am most grateful to my dissertation advisor, Mary Ann Tolbert of the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley, whose presence has been a constant sign that my project would finally reach completion. Each time I felt lost in the desert of doctoral study, she oriented me toward a clear and sound way forward. She has been my model for the precise articulation of ideas, and she continues to be my example of an academic guide. Fernando F. Segovia of Vanderbilt University initially opened my eyes to cultural studies, and he has supported my project from afar with sympathy and solidarity. Rosemary R. Ruether, also of PSR, read the dissertation very carefully, bringing a global erudition and encouraging my project as a life-giving discourse. Renate Holub of the University of California, Berkeley, stimulated me to develop my own hermeneutics through her course, shared work, and conversations. Herman D. Waetjen, along with offering enlightening knowledge of Jewish apocalypticism, spurred me to stick to my own context. During previous studies at Yale Divinity School, Harold W. Attridge introduced me, with his characteristic cheer and gentleness, to the literary criticism of Luke-Acts. Finally, though chronologically first, another Yale scholar, Letty M. Russell, provided academic and emotional shelter for me as an Asian student. She advocated for my own cultural interpretation of the Bible during the first disorienting stages of my studies in the United States.

This project was completed not only in the isolation of a library but has been facilitated by many friends. My thanks go to the dissertation reading group, Avaren Ipsen, Joe Marshall, and Paul Fullmer,

whose acuity and collegiality have been crucial from the founding stages of this work. Judy Ju Hee Han of UC-Berkeley introduced me critical geography's concept of space, which became indispensable for structuring my work. Young-keun Choi and Doo-Hee Lee of GTU and Sung-Hee Kim of Drew University helped me to correct typographical errors. A dear friend and English tutor, Christina Hutchins, has read all my drafts and helped me not only in organization and clarity but also in making my writing more English-like.

I especially appreciate Ivo Romein and Kim Fiona Plas, the editors of Brill Academic Publishers and my first two Dutch friends ever, whose technical assistance and friendly conversations on the land, people, culture, and soccer of each country have made the publication process joyful and informing. Above all, I acknowledge the great gift of my family's cooperation. For my dear sons, who are about to enter their teen years, their father's completion of the dissertation and the family's departure from United States to return home were not only joyful but also stressful, because these events once again brought immense changes to their lives. Thank you, Hee-Sang and Jie-Sang, for your big hugs of congratulations on the day your dad passed the defense! Finally, to Kyung-Hee Youn, my conversation partner, co-worker, supporter, and loving wife, I dedicate this book with pleasure.

INTRODUCTION

Like many other people, I read the Bible not only for “information” but also in pursuit of “transformation.” Such readings not only hope for intellectual enlightenment but also seek conversion in every aspect of life, including both personal/spiritual/existential and social/cultural/political dimensions.¹ While the various dimensions of transformation cannot be fully separated from one another, this study is focused on the social, cultural, and political aspects of meaning,² frequently neglected by biblical scholars. Concerned with the transformation of the reader, the present study concerns itself less with the processes of reconstructing (or constructing) the histories underlying biblical texts, focusing instead on processes of constructing meaning and on the mutual influence between the meaning and human life. Though serious engagement of the informational aspects of relevant texts is a necessary step, this project emphasizes the transformative endeavors of interpretation.

In undertaking both informational and transformational explorations, I not only consider the temporal-spatial distance between the text and the reader but also the reader’s engagement with the text in the process of reading. For example, although the history of Korean Christianity is brief in comparison with its Western counterpart, the approximately two centuries in the East Asian country in certain ways filled a temporal gap equivalent to two millennia and the spatial gap of oceans and between continents. For many modern Korean Christians, the Bible has already become “their” book. As one of these, I read the New Testament not only as a classic of Western antiquity but also as “our” book, as affecting our present lives in our particular spaces. This book endeavors both to

¹ For the purposes of reading and the dimensions of conversion, I utilize Sandra Schneiders’ terms, to which I here added social, cultural, and political dimensions. See Sandra M. Schneiders, *The Revelatory Text: Interpreting the New Testament as Sacred Scripture* (2nd ed.; Collegeville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 1999), 13–14.

² By focusing on culture, I am not intending to disregard possible “universal” human conditions; rather, I suggest that any “existential” conditions of humanity are mediated through cultural particularity.

describe such an interpretational engagement and to prescribe some previously unexplored way of claiming “our” book.

In my own interpretation, I attend closely to the mutual influence between the meaning of the text and the life of the reader. Both text and the reader are socially and historically located, and then affect one another in the construction of meaning. I delve into the mutual involvement by reading the text of Luke, written in the context of the Roman Empire, from my own cultural location, one characterized by a hegemonic corporate globalization. As a passage, Luke 19:45–23:56 provides an excellent means for entering the narrative world of Luke as he faces the reality of the Empire, including both resisting and compromising. Jesus’ most direct encounter with the Roman Empire is in the passion narrative (22:1–23:56), and Luke indirectly prepares for this encounter through Jesus’ confrontation with the Jerusalem leadership in Luke 19:45–21:38. The passage of preparation portrays the Roman presence implicitly but clearly. Certain similarities between the narrative world of Luke and my own context as reader entice me into further explorations through the text.

In this study, I demonstrate the ways in which Luke treats the Roman Empire both directly and indirectly through his description of the Jerusalem leadership. I argue that Luke 19:45–23:56 describes Jesus in conflict with the inseparable religious/political system of Empire, a system to which both Roman and Jewish authorities bear allegiance. This imperial system contrasts and contests with the eschatological Reign of God, the religion/politics of the God of Jesus. Luke constructs *the temple* in *daytime* with *Jesus* (19:45–21:38) as a narrative space-time alternative to the reality of Empire, the religious/political system constructed in *the city of Jerusalem* in “*your hour*” with *the power of darkness* (22:54–23:56). Critical geography and cultural theories are utilized to analyze Luke’s narrative construction of space. These theoretical tools also bring into relief the delicate colonial politics from the text, especially Luke’s ambivalent stance concerning Rome. I argue that Luke is neither as pro-Roman as, for instance, the Romans 13 passage nor as anti-Roman as Revelation 13. Luke’s narrative as a third way is not a simple middle path, but a complicated position that is characterized both by a counter-hegemonic discourse and as a colonial product.

The project begins with a description of my own reading context, which I name “East Asian global.” My interpretation of Luke is

intended less as an application of hermeneutical theories than as an approach to the text through the questions raised by my cultural location. After a short description of my hermeneutical premises, a large portion of the first chapter is devoted to the cultural topography of my space, i.e., to the web of social relations formed in and around an East Asian country called South Korea. I analyze the modern history of Korea using cultural theories of Edward Said and Homi Bhabha and theories of globalization, including that of Rosemary Ruether. The cultural geography forms the background of my reading strategy. This strategy is drawn primarily from Mary Ann Tolbert's "poetics of location," a theory which she develops from her "politics of location." Acknowledging the necessary linkage between hermeneutics and a rhetoric of faith, I also describe my own community of interpretation, the Korean and Korean-American Protestant church.

My reading of Luke from an East Asian global perspective is not a more "particular" endeavor than are Western scholarly readings. Every interpretation is socially and historically located. In Chapter Two, through a critical survey of scholarly works on Luke's view of the Reign of God and of Rome, I demonstrate how Lukan studies have been largely influenced by the modern dichotomy of religion vs. politics and by scholarship largely unaware of colonial collaboration. I also show how critical geography's conceptualization of the "spatial" as constituted by social relations through time can aid in reclaiming neglected connections between Luke's view of Rome and his eschatology. Since Conzelmann's *The Theology of St. Luke*, Lukan studies have generally lacked a due consideration of the connections between space-time and power relations.

The third and fourth chapters of the book are devoted to detailed textual analyses of Luke 19:45–21:38 and 22:1–23:56 respectively. In Chapter Three, I show how Luke aligns the Jerusalem leadership as a puppet regime of the religion/politics of Empire. The Jewish leaders serve the Emperor (20:20–26) rather than God (20:9–19), and they depend on the power of the Roman governor (20:20). I also argue that Jesus' request to serve God (20:15–16, 27–40) is an eschatological theme that pervades the passage. Through an analysis of narrative rhetoric in the end-time discourse (21:5–36), I demonstrate Luke's negative view of Rome and how he understands the coming of the Son of Man as a judgment upon the Empire. Chapter Four of this project focuses on Luke's narrative construction of space and

its connection to his eschatology. For Luke, the power of darkness, represented by both the Jewish and Roman authorities, predominates in the city of Jerusalem. Through his description of Jesus' trials in the city (22:66–23:25), Luke does not exculpate Roman Pilate by inculpating the Jerusalem leadership. Its primary concern is to demonstrate how Jesus did not do anything deserving of crucifixion. Luke's use of Roman authority to exonerate Jesus, however, is in conflict with his negative view of Rome, resulting in an ambivalent description of Jesus' response to the imperial authority (23:3).

Throughout the passage (19:45–23:56), Luke demonstrates his own complicated religious/political relations through the other characters of the narrative. Various kinds of “triangular power relations” appear between Luke and Rome. In the end-time discourse (21:5–36; Chapter Three), Luke places the Jewish leadership—both as collaborating persecutor (21:12) and as victim of the Empire (21:20–24)—between himself, the colonized victim, and Rome, the abusing colonizer. However, in the court narratives (23:1–25), both Luke and the Jerusalem leaders show concern for the security of the Empire: the leaders accuse Jesus as a rebel leader (23:2, 5) and Luke aligns the Jerusalem leadership with Barabbas, an insurrectionist (23:18–25). Luke considers those involved in anti-Roman armed struggles, possibly the Zealots, as murderers (23:19, 25) and criminals (23:33, 39–42) who deserve death (23:41). The clear opposition between Jesus and the Empire produces a marginalized group in the interstice, a people in the “third space.” Rather than acting as either advocates of Jesus or his traitors, the people in Luke appear as no more than booty of a power struggle.

The final chapter is a condensed synthesis of the entire discussions of the preceding four chapters. I summarize the arguments, integrating the textual study with my contextual analysis in order to attain a cultural interpretation of Luke 19:45–23:56 from an East Asian global perspective. Following a brief hermeneutical discussion on the ethics of interpretation, I conclude my project with a theological and methodological reflection. I position Luke theologically in relation to Rome. Methodologically, I propose how an East Asian global reading of these passages contributes to a wider reorientation of Lukan studies.

CHAPTER ONE

CULTURAL TOPOGRAPHY OF BIBLICAL
INTERPRETATION: AN EAST ASIAN
GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Interpretation has been acknowledged as the engagement between the reader and the text.¹ Because the social location affects the reader, the location of the reader in the engagement is taken seriously. As a biblical reader, I locate myself and my interpretation in a particular space-time, the contemporary global context around an East Asian country called South Korea. This contextual location of reading is both a choice and an effect. It is a choice insofar as I intentionally locate my biblical interpretation at this specific space-time understood in my own way. However, this context shapes my interpretation regardless of my intention. Therefore, I understand this chapter of the book, where I outline my hermeneutics and cultural analysis, as both prescription and description.²

¹ Wolfgang Iser's "phenomenology of reading" is one attempt to understand such an engagement between text and reader. Between the two poles of the text and the reader, the space where interpretation occurs, Iser emphasizes the significance of both the text created by the author and its realization by the reader. For him, the realization of the text is accomplished through the reader's filling in the gaps left by the text itself. He maintains, "the literary work cannot be completely identical with the text, or with the realization of the text, but in fact must lie halfway between the two. . . . The convergence of text and reader brings the literary work into existence, and this convergence can never be precisely pinpointed, but must always remain virtual, as it is not to be identified either with the reality of the text or with the individual disposition of the reader." See Wolfgang Iser, "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach," in *Reader-Response Criticism: from Formalism to Post-Structuralism* (ed. Jane P. Tompkins; Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 50, 55.

² This is a prescription in that I place my hermeneutical discussion before the forthcoming chapters on historical survey and textual analysis. And yet, it is also a description because I write this chapter of the book having finished the textual studies. In terms of Wolfgang Iser, what is presented in this chapter is a *phenomenology of my own biblical reading*. Iser titles the third part of his book, *The Act of Reading*, "Phenomenology of Reading." See Wolfgang Iser, *The Act of Reading: A Theory of Aesthetic Response* (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).

In this chapter, after describing my hermeneutical premise that social location affects both the text and the reader, I present a detailed cultural analysis of my own reading context, which I call East Asian global space. For the cultural analysis, I utilize a critical geography's concept of "space-time and social relations." I focus on the unequal relations in which South Korea has participated in the East Asian global space, a site illuminated through the studies of globalization and geographical imagination of several cultural theorists. From this cultural topography, I proceed to a reading strategy informed by Mary Tolbert's "politics and poetics of location." This reading strategy includes an awareness of the shift from hermeneutics to rhetoric, a shift that takes account of an interpretative community—for me, the Korean Protestant church. I conclude the chapter with a description of Luke's social location. This description also serves as the first step in my textual analysis of Luke 19:45–23:56.

The social locations of the text and of the reader

The "linguistic turn" in structuralism and the subsequent poststructuralist understanding of language as constitutive of rather than merely reflective of reality have contributed greatly to biblical studies. This understanding of language, and thus, of the text, offered a central motive that stimulated the rise of a new wave of literary criticism as an alternative to the positivist view of historical criticism prevalent until the 1970s. Contrary to historical criticism, which has been absorbed by the "reconstruction" of Christian origins, the language-oriented literary critical approaches—including narrative criticism, structuralism, rhetorical criticism, psychological criticism, reader-response criticism, and deconstructionism—emphasize the principles governing the formal aspects of biblical texts. These formal aspects, rather than the world behind the text, with which historical criticism is mainly concerned, take precedence.³

Along with the development of these new modes of interpretation, a growing chorus within the field of literary criticism has also proposed that formalist analysis does not tap the full potential literary

³ Fernando F. Segovia, "Introduction—'And They Began to Speak in Other Tongues': Competing Modes of Discourse in Contemporary Biblical Criticism," in *Reading From This Place vol. 1: Social Location and Biblical Interpretation in the United States*. (eds. Idem, and Mary Ann Tolbert; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 6.

criticism offers to biblical scholarship. Following Wolfgang Iser,⁴ Herman Waetjen acknowledges that meaning occurs through the engagement between the text and the reader. Contrary to the other hermeneutical mode of “reconstruction,” which underscores the historical distance between the biblical texts and contemporary readers, Waetjen proposes a hermeneutical mode of “integration,” which “endeavors to secure the interiorization of the textual meaning by a direct and immediate application to contemporary life.” Extending beyond Iser, Waetjen emphasizes that the reader’s engagement with the text occurs in a social location. It is a reading as a *Dasein*, a “being-there,”⁵ the understanding of which “involves ideologies and creeds that have been shaped by the realities of class, gender, race, and religion within that society, along with the perceptions and prejudices that they generate.”⁶ A similar hermeneutical movement has formed among biblical scholars who read the biblical text as “flesh-and-blood readers—always positioned and interested, socially and historically conditioned and unable to transcend such conditions,” as ones who seek ways of reading for liberation and decolonization.⁷

The recognition of the socially located reader, which could be called the “spatial turn” in biblical interpretation, converges with an emphasis on the social location of the text and the significance of the text in negotiating the reader’s experiences of the world. For Edward Said, as for the “flesh-and-blood” biblical interpreters, the problem with contemporary criticism resides in its functionalist attitude, which “pays too much attention to the text’s formal operations but far too little to its materiality.” The result of this is that the text

⁴ See footnote 1.

⁵ For Heidegger and Gadamer, as for Waetjen, understanding is ontological, not just epistemological. Understanding is a characteristically human way of being, a mode of being-in-the-world. See Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (2nd rev. ed.; trans. rev. Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall; New York: Crossroad, 1989), 254–264.

⁶ Herman Waetjen, “Social Location and the Hermeneutical Mode of Integration,” in *Reading From This Place*, vol. 1, esp. 75–78.

⁷ Segovia, “Introduction,” 8, 28–29. This hermeneutical movement resulted in the series of *Reading from This Place* edited by Fernando F. Segovia and Mary Ann Tolbert (the first volume subtitled “Social Location and Biblical Interpretation in the United States”; the second volume “Social Location and Biblical Interpretation in Global Perspective,” and the third volume “Teaching the Bible”). More than thirty biblical scholars and theologians representing diverse cultures contributed to the series. Seeking to go beyond formalism, this group of interpreters is widely influenced by postmodernism.

becomes “a self-consuming artifact,” which is “idealized, essentialized, instead of remaining as the special kind of cultural object it really is, with a causation, persistence, durability and social presence quite its own.”⁸ While Said agrees with the poststructuralist idea that the conceived world is textually constructed, he takes a further step in his *The World, the Text, and the Critic*, claiming that treating literature as an inert structure misses the most important fact: literature or the text is an act located in the world.⁹ Although he concedes that the structural features of textuality provide extremely useful analytical tools, Said alerts readers not to fall into an error of positing the social and political significance of the text as merely an effect of textuality, an invention of those textual strategies inscribed in the text. The text does not exist outside the world, as implied by both the realist and structuralist positions, but is a part of the world of which it speaks, and this worldliness is itself present in the text as a part of its formation. In this way, Said negotiates between the classical realist position, which sees the text as simply referring to the world “out there,” and the structuralist/poststructuralist position, which understands the world as being entirely constructed by the text.

Cultural topography of my space

As a “flesh-and-blood reader,” I follow the proposition of the literary critics who consider seriously that both the text and the reader are socially and historically located. From this hermeneutical premise, I describe my own understanding of the cultural location from which I read the Bible. In what follows, I describe the cultural topography that provides the basis of my own reading strategy.

Space-time and cultural relations

The social location as reader in which I intend to posit my interpretation is less a physical place than a space formed by complicated temporal and cultural relations. Certain cultural geographers’ differentiations of space from place are useful in understanding my

⁸ Edward Said, *The World, the Text and the Critic* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 148.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 131.

location of biblical reading. Among them, Doreen Massey relates “the spatial” with social relations, including class and gender.

“The spatial” . . . can be seen as constructed out of the multiplicity of social relations across all spatial scales, from the global reach of finance and telecommunications, through the geography of the tentacles of national political power, to the social relations within the town, the settlement, the household and the workplace. It is a way of thinking in terms of the ever-shifting geometry of social/power relations.¹⁰

“Since social relations are inevitably and everywhere imbued with power and meaning and symbolism,” as she emphasizes, a space needs to be understood in terms of its power relations. One significant factor in her power geometry notion of space is time. Because the spatial is thought of in the context of space-time, “one view of a place is as a particular articulation of those relations, a particular moment in those networks of social relations and understandings.”¹¹

Massey’s conceptualization of space is useful for understanding my cultural location as the context of this project of reading. First, her sense of “the spatial” reminds us that cultures are usually formed along with their geographical boundaries and named according to or as their place: i.e., Asian culture, American culture, or African culture. However, the boundary of a culture is not the same as its physical place. For example, in the definition of “Latino/Latina-American culture,” Latino/Latina culture is not bound in a place. Islamic culture or Jewish culture provide other examples of cultures that exist “around” but are not “bound by” geographical places. The development of information technology has sped up and strengthened such beyond-place-ness of culture, compressing our sense of space and time. Despite my physical location in the United States for the purpose of study, for instance, I have been able, primarily via the Internet, to stay informed about current affairs in South Korea. Sometimes, I have been more quickly and better informed of Korean matters than are people residing in South Korea.¹²

¹⁰ Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 2–4.

¹¹ Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender*, 5.

¹² All of these phenomena are related to what is called “deterritorialization” of cultures or “compressed sense of time and space.” See T. Howland Sanks, “Globalization and the Church’s Social Mission,” *Theological Studies*, vol. 60, no. 4 (1999): 631.

The idea of the “spatial” is also useful in overcoming the dichotomy of physical vs. metaphysical, replete in Western Christianity. Culture is situated in a space distinct from the “physical,” but the location of culture is not the same as the transcendent “metaphysical.” Lefebvre utilizes the concept of “fetishism of the commodity”¹³ to explain the seemingly metaphysical nature of space:

... a space is not a thing but rather a set of relations between things (objects and products). Might we say that it is or tends to become the absolute Thing? The answer must be affirmative to the extent that *every thing which achieves autonomy through the process of exchange (i.e. attains the status of commodity) tends to become absolute—a tendency, in fact, that defines Marx’s concept of fetishism (practical alienation under capitalism)*. The Thing, however, never quite becomes absolute, never quite emancipates itself from activity, from use, from need, from ‘social being’.¹⁴

Last, but not least, the critical geographers’ focus on social relations prompts me to negotiate my cultural location of reading in terms of the unequal power relations through which Korean cultures have been molded. I define my biblical interpretation as “cultural,” not because I associate my reading with some assumed essential characteristics of “the Korean culture,” but because I focus on cultural relations that have been formed through history, involved in and involving configurations of power. In order to understand this space, I am concerned with attending to the historical and cultural relations between Korea and several powerful states, namely the ancient China, Japan, and, in particular, the United States.¹⁵ I name the

¹³ Originally indicating “the religion of sensuous appetites,” and sometimes known in its derived use denoting sexual perversion, “fetishism” is the term with which Karl Marx theorizes a syndrome of capitalism. In capitalist society, material objects have certain characteristics conferred on them in virtue of the prevailing social relations, and are regarded as if such characteristics belonged to them by nature. Marx calls this syndrome the “fetishism of the commodity” as repository, or bearer, of value. His analogy is religion, in which people bestow upon some entity an imaginary power. However, the analogy is inexact, for the properties bestowed on material objects in the capitalist economy are, Marx maintains, real and not natural properties. They are social. They constitute real powers, uncontrolled by, indeed holding sway over, human beings. See Norman Geras, “fetishism,” *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (2nd edition; ed. Tom Bottomore; Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1991), 190–191.

¹⁴ See Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 1991), 82–83. Italics are mine, emphasizing the concept of “fetishism.”

¹⁵ If we take North Korea into consideration, then significant relations extend to modern China and to the USSR (and contemporary Russia). The discussion be-

space-time (and thus, the cultural relations) “East Asian global,” a phrase by which I describe my understanding of the global relations that operate through local power relations in East Asia. Through such an understanding, I attempt to localize the global realities and resistances. The term is not intended to convey the excessive claim that my interpretation could “represent” the reading of whole East Asian people, a plurality who have experienced many different positional relations. Rather, the phrase indicates a spatial-temporal purview of the cultural engagements between South Korean people and others. I also refuse the essentialization, and thus, the re-marginalization, of my interpretation as particularly “Korean,” an identity argued against the fiction of a “universal” interpretation. However, as with every interpretation, my interpretation is socially located.

The East Asian global space

The East Asian global space has been a participant in cultural engagements, both colonial/imperial and post-colonial/neo-imperial. An understanding of Korean culture, which was formed through these unequal sets of relations, requires a short historical survey.¹⁶ Until the end of the nineteenth century, China had been the single supreme power in East Asia, although there had been a series of regime changes within the continent. Though Korea was rarely directly colonized by China, the latter had a profound and persistent cultural influence on the former. Confucianism and Buddhism in particular, the two major religions/cultures in South Korea,¹⁷ were each

comes much more complicated. My analysis focuses on South Korea and its cultural formations.

¹⁶ For history of Korea written in English, see Ki-Baik Lee, *A New History of Korea* (trans. Edward W. Wagner and Edward J. Shultz; Cambridge, MA: Published for the Harvard-Yenching Institute by Harvard University Press, 1984); and Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: a Modern History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997). For a history of Korean church in relation to politics, see Wi Jo Kang, *Christ and Caesar in Modern Korea: A History of Christianity and Politics* (New York: SUNY Press, 1997); and Chung-shin Park, *Protestantism and Politics in Korea* (Seattle, Wash.: University of Washington Press, 2003).

¹⁷ It is said that South Korea is the most Confucian country in the world, even more Confucian than China, because the mother country of Confucianism was largely communized during the “Cultural Revolution,” a campaign launched by Mao Zedong in 1966 and lasted until 1976. While Confucianism was the “official” religion during Chosun Dynasty, from 1392 to colonization by Japan in 1910, Buddhism had survived as the religion of the minorities, including noble women and the low class people. Along with Confucianism and Christianity, Buddhism is still one of the major religions in South Korea.

introduced from or through China, and the Korean aristocracy was systematically ordered according to the Chinese model. At the turn of the twentieth century, however, the Chinese empire was undermined by European colonizers as well as by Japan seeking to become another empire in East Asia. Geopolitically located between the two powerful states, China and Japan, and facing the European colonizers, Korea was unable to determine its own destiny, and was formally “annexed” by Japan in 1910.

Although Japanese colonization lasted a mere generation (1910–1945), the colonial legacy continued in South Korean society long after the Japanese surrendered to the Allied Forces in 1945. I suggest that this ongoing colonial influence has persisted because of two major factors: the cultural nature of colonialism and the subsequent influence of the US military government.

Japanese colonialism was not only political, military, and economic, but profoundly cultural.¹⁸ The colonizers persuaded Korean people to “consent”¹⁹ to the notion that colonialism had brought good things

¹⁸ Historians generally divide the colonial period into a succession of assimilation (1910[1905]–1920), cooperation (1920–1930), and continental imperialism (1931–1945).

¹⁹ Antonio Gramsci, in his *Prison Notebooks*, exploring the way the dominant class establishes and maintains its rule, argues that a class maintains its dominance not simply through material force but because it is able to exert a moral and intellectual leadership and to make compromises with a variety of allies who are unified in a social bloc of forces which he calls “historical bloc.” This bloc represents a basis of “consent” for a certain social order, in which the “hegemony” of a ruling class is created and re-created in a web of institutions, social relations, and ideas. The fabric of hegemony is woven by the “intellectuals.” Although the institutions of hegemony are located in “civil society,” Gramsci does not neglect the significance of the moment of “political society,” the moment of force, of domination in the production of hegemony. See Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (New York: International Publishers, 1971), especially his essays in pages 206–276. See also Bottomore, “hegemony,” *A Dictionary*: 229–231. Edward Said combines Gramsci’s notion of “hegemony” with Foucault’s “discourse” theory in order to produce what is often called “colonial discourse theory.” For Said, Orientalism operates in the service of the West’s hegemony over the East by producing the East discursively as the West’s inferior “other,” a maneuver that strengthens and partially constructs the West’s self image as a superior civilization. In his *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 7, Said maintains, “It is hegemony, or rather the result of cultural hegemony at work, that gives Orientalism the durability and the strength.” Attempting a synthesis of Foucault and Gramsci, he focuses on the “civil society” as a domain of cultural relations serving as the medium through which power and its effects operate. *Orientalism* aims to expose the degree to which Western systems of knowledge and representation have been involved in the long history of the West’s material and political subordination of the non-Western world. The Japanese rule over Korea and the following development dic-

for them. To legitimate the colonial occupation, Japan constructed its own narrative history. Some historical narratives were entirely fabricated, including one claiming that Korea had been a colony of Japan in the past. Another narrative stated that the Korean economy had been so stagnant that the colonial intervention was *necessary* for Korea to proceed to modernity. The colonizers created a myth that Koreans have an intrinsically “bad national character,” requiring renovation by external forces.²⁰ For those promulgating and influenced by these rhetorical strategies, Korea’s “modernization” by Japan served as evidence justifying colonization. This modernization, however, especially during the last stage of colonialism, occurred amid major exploitation. The colonizers not only attempted to produce “consent” among Koreans but also forced assimilation toward becoming Japanese. Traditional Korean cultural celebrations were banned. The people were compelled to speak in Japanese, to use Japanese names, to chant brainwashing sentences, and to worship at the Japanese Shinto shrines.²¹

The end of Japanese colonialism in 1945 marked simultaneously the beginning of the two Koreas, the division between South and North. In the South, the Japanese colonial legacy was retained and reshaped by the United States. In the process, Koreans were deprived of opportunities not only to modernize, but also to decolonize themselves. Even after the Japanese colonizers left Korean peninsula, a *de facto* occupation and inequality remained. The “liberated” Korea was not for and by Koreans. Rather, it was the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) that usurped the status of occupying forces for the three years preceding 1948.²² An

tatorship after the liberation, however, cannot be fully explained by the theory of hegemony, because the “civil society” was not fully established at those stages, and it is difficult to say that the ruling class produced sufficient “consent” among the people. Hegemony cannot be reduced to legitimation, false consciousness, or manipulation of the mass. Nevertheless, Gramsci’s analysis is useful in its acknowledgment that any system of domination, including colonialism, cannot sustain itself with only material force.

²⁰ This essentialist and collectivist view of Koreans has had strong influence upon the people. Some old people still argue that their own “national characteristic” is flawed.

²¹ The enforcement of Shinto worship was a feature of later period of Japanese colonialism. The Japanese established a total of 660 shrines in Korea. See Cumings, *Korea’s Place in the Sun*, 182.

²² Since the US Army landed in South Korea in September 9, 1945, they have not left the country. Currently, about 37,000 servicemen are deployed on 96 bases of South Korea.

American military government was established *over* the structure of Japanese colonialism, and thus, the US occupation solidified, rather than destroyed, the colonial foundation in Korea. To facilitate its control over Korea, the USAMGIK reemployed pro-Japanese collaborators, who had just recently served for the Japanese colonial regime, and the US supported the pro-American Syngman Rhee to be elected as the first president of the Republic of Korea. President Rhee stabilized the US policy of preserving the colonial legacy. In contrast, the nationalist groups, including the Korea Provisional Government (*Taehan min'guk imsi chōngbu*) established by those who fought for liberation, and the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence (*Chosŏn kŏn'guk chunbi wiwŏnhoe*) in which both right- and left-wing leaders participated together, were not acknowledged but even crushed to sustain the US influence.²³

Building upon the colonial structure, US influence on South Korea grew and was strengthened in several ways. First, the residual traces and memories of subordination prompted a strong anti-Japanese sentiment among Koreans. This sentiment facilitated the Americanization in the country, because Americans “liberated” Korea from Japanese colonialism. It is a historical irony that the United States became favored by Koreans by driving the colonizers out of the country, but in turn strengthened their stronghold by retaining the colonial legacy in the country. The ensuing Korean War further strengthened the pro-US sentiments. The Americans were credited as “benefactors,” who fought for Koreans during the War (1950–1953) and “supported” the people with relief aid in the years following the armistice.

A strong anticommunist mentality was another significant building block for the US hegemony over South Korea. Along with anti-Americanism in the North, anticommunism provided justification for political repression of anyone who could be accused of benefiting the enemy.²⁴ To suppress dissidents, the Korean dictators heavily

²³ For an extensive historical analyses of the period at the end of Japanese colonialism and the beginning of the Republic of Korea, see the six-volume series of *Haebang chonhusa ui inshik* (Understanding the history before and after the liberation; Seoul, Korea: Han'gilsa, 1979–1989) written by 50 writers in several areas, including history, politics, economics, sociology, and culture. For a work written in English, see Bruce Cumings, *The Origin of The Korean War: Liberation and the Emergence of Separate Regimes, 1945–1947* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, c. 1981–c. 1990).

²⁴ Thus, the rulers of the South and the North began their “hostile symbiosis” with each other.

relied on anticommunist ideology. The majority of South Korean presidents until the early 1990s had questionable democratic legitimacy, and US administrations made full use of the dictators' lack of legitimacy to make them faithful supporters of US influence upon the country. Even after Rhee was displaced by the people's April Revolution in 1960, South Korean presidency was succeeded by three ex-military generals, who came into power through coup d'états sanctioned by the United States.²⁵

In addition to anticommunism, the dictators utilized a rhetoric of "development" to maintain their domination. Among many Koreans who experienced the miraculous economic growth in the 1970s, President Chung-hee Park (1961–1979), the first among the three ex-military presidents, is remembered as a hero. Just as the Japanese colonizers legitimated their domination through "modernization," Park managed to produce "consent" among the people through "development," the miraculous growth of the Gross National Product

²⁵ Chung-hee Park came into power through the first military coup in May 1961. Because he had been a Japanese military officer, he had serious liabilities as a political leader. After he graduated from Japanese military academy, Park served in the Japanese Imperial Army in China, in an army unit possibly in charge of suppressing independence fighters. Furthermore, he had been at one time a communist. Park had, in fact, led a well-known mutiny with communist officers and soldiers in the Korean army in 1948. In spite of these liabilities, he became the president. In order to escape from the US suspicion that Park was plotting a communist uprising, the former communist officer became an ardent advocate of anticommunism. The pro-Japanese collaborators, who kept their positions under the aegis of Rhee's administration, expanded their power and influence even further, because the president was one of them. The second and third ex-military presidents did not have histories of being either pro-Japanese nor communist. However, their coup was not completed until the Kwangju massacre in 1980, where hundreds of innocent citizens protesting against the coup were murdered by their own nation's armies. Officially acknowledged, more than four thousand people were killed, wounded, or disappeared. For quick resources about the so-called "the May 18 Democratic Uprising," see relevant websites, including that of The May 18 Memorial Foundation at <http://www.518.org>. This sad historical chapter not only cost the two presidents the people's respect but also signaled the decline of US hegemony in South Korea, because the people came to know that, after it was over, the American administration had sanctioned the massacre. Because, ironically, major military operations in South Korea were and are still under the "operation control" of the US Commander, the coup forces needed the US permission to move. One of the most contentious issues in Korean politics today is to change Korea's relationship with the US from subordination to equality. A news article illustrates how the US government understands such a change. In December 20, 2002, soon after the president Moo-hyun Roh was elected, the *New York Times* titled its report as "Seoul may loosen its ties to the US" Another title of *NYT* article on January 2, 2003, argued, "South Korea, Once a Solid Ally, Now Poses Problem for the US."

(GNP). This economic “development,” however, had a costly price. An unequal development among the classes within the nation, the economic growth was sustained by exploiting laborers, by unjust distribution of wealth, and by producing serious environmental pollution. The garment industry, in particular, employed a large number of low-wage women workers, most of whom left hometowns in rural areas and were co-opted into very difficult working conditions. Thus, women workers were among the first and the most ardent protesters against the “tyranny of development.”²⁶

In order to legitimate growing inequalities, to repress the dissidents, and to justify environmental destruction, Park championed nationalism as a state policy.²⁷ This nationalism was combined with a strong anticommunism and ironically served to turn people against the kindred North Korea, against the other part of their own nation, while former colonial collaborators or “traitors to the nation” remained in power.²⁸ Two subsequent ex-military dictators, Doo-hwan Chun (1980–1987) and Tae-woo Roh (1987–1992), faithfully followed Park’s rhetoric, though they did not achieve the same degree of “miraculous” economic development.

During Young-sam Kim’s presidency from 1992 to 1997, the rhetoric of modernization and development was replaced by a rhetoric of “globalization,” appealing to the public to “share the pain” in order to be competitive in the global market.²⁹ The country’s admission to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)³⁰ was a symbolic event that displayed Kim’s “globalization”

²⁶ For a English-written study of the South Korean dictators’ use of ideologies/discourses, see Hee-yeon Cho, “The Structure of the South Korean Developmental Regime and its Transformation—Statist Mobilization and Authoritarian Integration in the Anticommunist Regimentation,” *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 1.3 (2000): 408–426.

²⁷ Koreans commonly believe that they all have a single ethnicity, and for a long time, they have used only one language, Korean, with its own alphabet, *Hangul*. Because of such a high level of homogeneity among the people, official nationalism faced little opposition. Park also attempted to promote official nationalism with Confucian ethics in analogies of the state with the family.

²⁸ Progressive circles criticized that nationalism was “misused” for the sake of domination, but they did not reject nationalism itself. Instead, they have attempted to elaborate in it a spirit of resistance and a way of self-esteem.

²⁹ Like Dae-jung Kim, Young-sam Kim had once been a prominent opposition leader. Young-sam Kim managed to beat Dae-Jung Kim in the 1992 Presidential election by forming a coalition with the military regime. Following the ideologies and policies of the ex-generals, Young-sam Kim was also a pro-US conservative armed with strong anticommunism.

³⁰ South Korean joined the OECD as the 29th member country in October 1996.

policy. His slogans, however, have resulted in harsh lessons, disclosures of the injustices that the present forms of globalization actually entail. In 1997, South Korea was put under the economic governance of the International Monetary Fund (IMF),³¹ and the country's dependence on foreign investment intensified.³² Through "structural adjustments" (SA), which can be defined as policies "to make the country financially attractive to global capital," a great number of people lost their jobs, and major corporations were taken over by foreign companies. Rather than a fair "pain-sharing," this neo-liberal "corporate globalization," a US military-backed global system,³³ both "hegemonic"³⁴ and "imperialistic,"³⁵ placed "power

³¹ Noam Chomsky points out that the economic governance of the IMF is a typical step following military dictatorship and the process through which the United States controls foreign countries. He writes, "The military typically proceeds to create an economic disaster, often following the prescriptions of US advisors, and then decide to hand the problem over to civilians to administer. Overt military control is no longer necessary as new devices become available—for example, controls exercised through the International Monetary Fund (which, like the World Bank, lends Third World nations funds largely provided by the industrial powers)." See Chomsky, *What Uncle Sam Really Wants* (Berkeley, Ca.: Odonial Press, 1986), 32.

³² At the end of 2004, seven years after the onset of IMF governance, 43 percent of the entirety of listed stocks in Korea (and 65 percent of the stocks of commercial banks) are possessed by foreign investors. See the news report, "IMF ch'il nyön, oeguk t'ugi chabon e püreik'u ka öpta" (Seven years of the IMF, foreign venture capital has no break), *Ohmynews* (15 November 2004). Online: http://www.ohmynews.com/articleview/article_view.asp?menu=c10600&no=196791&rel_no=1&index=5.

³³ Rosemary R. Ruether, *Integrating Ecofeminism, Globalization, and World Religions* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004), 1–44. There is a US military presence in 120 of the 189 member states of the United Nations. See Tariq Ali, *The Class of Fundamentalism: Crusades, Jihads and Modernity* (London: Verso, 2002), xiii.

³⁴ Peter Evans, "Counter-Hegemonic Globalization: Transnational Social Movements in the Contemporary Global Political Economy," in *Handbook of Political Sociology* (eds. Thomas Janoski et al.; Cambridge: University Press, forthcoming). This can be downloaded in a PDF format from online: <http://sociology.berkeley.edu/faculty/evans/#courses>. My quotation is from pages 4–9 in the PDF file.

³⁵ Ruether, *Integrating Ecofeminism*. See also Anselm Kyongsuk Min, "Imperialism and Resistance: A New Theological Paradigm in the Age of Globalization" (paper presented at the 5th International Whitehead Conference, Seoul, Korea, 28 May 2004). For more analyses of American Empire and its theological assessment, see the papers presented at the conference "An American Empire? Globalization, War, and Religion," Drew University, Madison, New Jersey, in September 25–27, 2003. The papers include John B. Cobb, "Common Wealth and Empire"; Richard A. Falk, "Empowering Inquiry"; David R. Griffin, "Global Imperialism or Global Democracy: The Present Alternative"; Catherine Keller, "Preemption and Omnipotence"; and Kathryn Tanner, "Grace and Global Capitalism." All these papers can be downloaded from the website of Drew University at <http://www.users.drew.edu/mnausner/ttc3pdf.html>.

even more firmly in the hands of the wealthy classes and foreign investors.” An enormous, worldwide mass of impoverished, suffering people bears the brunt of the pain.³⁶

Long before Kim made use of the rhetoric, globalization, in fact, had been expanding worldwide. Rosemary Ruether traces the roots of present phenomena back to the 500 years of colonialism. For her, “corporate globalization” is “simply the latest stage of Western colonialist imperialism.” She maintains that in the aftermath of the Second World War colonizers de-occupied their colonies, marking the end of the first two phases of colonialism.³⁷ The United States emerged as the dominant economic and military power and “quickly assumed a role of reinforcer of the neocolonial system of control by the West.”³⁸ The imperialist nature of this globalization has been widely acknowledged. John B. Cobb maintains, “all the civilized world has known for thousand years is a world in which the real question was not, whether there would be empires, but who would succeed in establishing them.”³⁹ In a similar vein, Catherine Keller points out that the question is “not *whether* the US is an empire, but *what kind*.”⁴⁰ What has unfolded in Korea since 1945 exemplifies globalization as the third stage of imperialism. Armed with anticommunism and reinforced by US hegemony, a neo-colonial system of control by the West has emerged.⁴¹ Peter Evans points out that the global rules and networks constructed around the interests of transnational corporations (TNC) are “hegemonic” in two ways.

³⁶ Chomsky, *What Uncle Sam Really Wants*, 32.

³⁷ Ruether divides the Western colonization into three phases. The first phase (late 15th century–early 19th century) ended with the independence of the colonies in the Americas. In the second phase (mid-nineteenth century–1950s), Africa, Asia, and the Middle Africa were divided among European nations. The US neo-imperialism has succeeded the preceding two stages of classic colonialism. See Ruether, “Integrating Ecofeminism,” 2.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Cobb, “Commonwealth and Empire,” 2.

⁴⁰ Keller, “Preemption and Omnipotence,” 1.

⁴¹ For South Koreans, as for people of many other countries, “globalization” is almost a synonym for “Americanization,” not only because the rhetorics of “development” and “globalization” have strengthened the US hegemony but also because the United States has been almost the only gate through which Korea engages with the global world culturally, economically, and diplomatically. For a while in the past, especially during the period of Park’s economic development, Americanization occurred through Japan. These days, Americanization is more direct, without passing through Japanese culture.

First, they are dominant in their ability to provide material rewards and impose sanctions (including coercion). Second, and equally important, they are ideologically dominant. They are surprisingly successful in portraying specific definitions of “free trade” and “competitiveness” as representing the general interests of all citizens, not just particular interests. Consequently, opponents of this hegemonic system of rules and ideology are easily branded as either not understanding how the system works or as trying to pursue “special interests” at the expense of general good.⁴²

Despite its rhetorical “success,” the hegemonic corporate or neo-liberal globalization reinforces the classic two-tiered societies of the Two-Thirds world. Such inequality makes it hard to think the “nation” as a unity. While the Korean *Chaebols* (the large economic conglomerates) are among the TNCs profiting the most from globalization, for example, other people are victimized by “structural adjustment” programs, including the multitude of the unemployed and a majority of peasants devastated by cheap rice imports from the United States. As a member of the OECD, the organization representing the transnational corporations, South Korea has charged itself with an obligation to remove trade barriers and to facilitate the foreign investments,⁴³ a position that has further reinforced the inequality within the nation. It is not only the *Chaebols* that profit from globalization but also small and medium-sized manufacturing companies, which employ workers from other Third World countries, especially from Southeast Asia and China.⁴⁴ For these migrant workers, South Korea has become a global exploiter and profiteer. Korean people must now reflect about the imperialism within themselves.⁴⁵

⁴² Peter Evans, “Counter-Hegemonic Globalization: Transnational Networks as Political Tools for Fighting Marginalization,” the revised 2nd draft of an essay submitted for the January 2000 issue of *Contemporary Sociology*. This can be downloaded in PDF a format from http://sociology.berkeley.edu/faculty/evans/evans_pdf/hegemony.pdf. My quotation is from page 3 in the PDF file.

⁴³ For further description of economic institutions which facilitate the corporate globalization, see Ruether, *Integrating Ecofeminism, Globalization, and World Religion*, 3–8.

⁴⁴ According to a statistics collected by activist groups struggling for the rights of migrant workers in April 2004, there are 414,864 migrant workers in South Korea. More than one-third of the workers are women. For related data in detail, see the website of the Joint Committee for Migrant Workers in Korea at <http://www.jcmk.org>.

⁴⁵ For a discussion of the problem of “subempire” in other newly industrialized countries, see, for example, Kuan-Hsing Chen, “The Imperialist Eye: The Cultural Imaginary of a Subempire and a Nation-State,” *Position* 8.1 (2000): 9–76. The modern history of Taiwan has similarities with that of Korea, including common

Christian churches and theologies in the space

While Korean Christian churches have a relatively short history, even among the Two-Thirds World churches,⁴⁶ they have played a significant role in Korean cultural history. The first Korean Catholics were Confucian scholars who were seeking new ideas and enlightenment for Korean society. Through them, Christian teachings were introduced as part of “Western Learning”, which included philosophy and the natural sciences. However, because of cultural conflicts, particularly the Catholics’ rejection of the traditional practice of ancestor worship, the Christians faced major persecutions. When the first American Protestant missionaries came into the country, they found the Korean versions of Gospel books already translated and the Korean Christians inviting the missionaries for baptism. Many of the Protestant churches found their mission among the marginalized and oppressed peoples. The missionaries initiated changes in various areas,

experiences of Japanese colonialism, local conflicts, the political dictators’ use of anti-communism and development ideology for their regime, and the emerging “subimperialism” in both countries. For further studies of Chen, see his “Why is ‘Great Reconciliation’ Impossible? De-Cold War/Decolonization, or Modernity and its Tears (Part I), *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 3.1 (2002): 77–99. The Part II of the same article is in *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 3.2 (2002): 235–251.

⁴⁶ It was as early as 1592 when Korean contacts with Roman Catholicism first occurred. When Toyotomi Hideyoshi dispatched Japanese troops to conquer Korea, the Catholic general Konishi Yukinaga was among them, together with his eighteen thousand Catholic soldiers in his division. Fr. Gregorio de Cespedes was also sent in 1594 at the request of Konishi. However, Father Cespedes’ ministry was limited exclusively to the Japanese soldiers. The first recorded Korean Catholics were Confucian scholars who were searching for new ideas. Among them was Yi Pyök, who asked his friend Yi Söng Hun visiting Beijing as a Korean envoy in 1783 to go to a “temple of Lord of Heaven” (Catholic church) and get a copy of Sacred writings. After Yi Söng Hun was baptized and returned home, the two friends initiated propagation of the faith. The first Korean Protestants were baptized in China, some of whom returned home and established the first Korean Protestant church in Solae in 1884. In the same year, Horace Allen, the first American Protestant medical missionary who was allowed to work in Korea, came into the country. See Kyung-Bae Min, *Han’guk kyohoesa* (A history of Korean churches; Seoul, Korea: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1982), 45–47, 61–64, 168–173; Kang, *Christ and Caesar*, 2, 12; and Park, *Protestantism and Politics in Korea*, 15–23. Korean Protestant churches have grown very rapidly so that, in 2004, one fourth of the population of South Korea is Christian. Other statistical data show that Christians’ power may be larger than their percentage in population. 120 Korean lawmakers out of total 255 are Protestants, and 43% of the executives of enterprises listed on the stock exchange are so. More Christians are found in big cities and wealthy towns than in rural and poor areas. See the TV show, “Son’gyo 120 chunyon, han’guk kyohoe nun wigi in’ga?” (The 120th anniversary of Protestant mission: are Korean churches in crisis?), *Korea Broadcasting System* (2 October 2004).

including education, medicine, demolition of classes, women's rights, and charity for the poor. Thus, the first leaders of independence movement against Japanese colonialism, especially until the March First Movement in 1919, were Christians.⁴⁷ However, Korean Christians' involvement in the "political matters" was not in accord with a US mission policy whose leaders did not want any conflict with the colonial Japanese government. During the "rule of culture," by which the Japanese colonizers responded to the nationwide resistance of Korean people marching for independence in March 1919, American missionaries' cooperated with the Japanese Governor-General.⁴⁸ This cooperation ceased at the end of 1930s, when the Japanese required Shinto worship of all Koreans. While some Christian leaders accepted the colonizers' logic that this was a national ceremony, rather than a religious practice, others considered it to be idol worship and bitterly resisted against it.⁴⁹

For Korean Christians repressed by the anti-Christian colonizers, the Americans were not only their political liberators but also seen as rescuers sent by God. Thus, Christians in Korea were supportive of the US military government administered by the General Douglas MacArthur, and of the new Republic of Korea government led by the President Rhee. Both MacArthur and Rhee were renowned among Koreans as faithful Christians.⁵⁰ Since then, the US hegemony in Korea and Christian teachings have continued to bolster

⁴⁷ During the first period of colonialism, Christian churches offered gathering places for the independence activists, who could not find sanctuary elsewhere. Kil-sub Song, *Han'guk shinhak sasangsa* (A history of Korean theological thoughts; Seoul, Korea: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1987), 132–149, 177–213; Kang, "Introduction, Translation and Application of the Bible in Korean History," *Journal of Asian and Asian American Theology* vol. 1 (1996): 47–62; and Park, *Protestantism and Politics in Korea*, 117–138.

⁴⁸ Kang, *Christ and Caesar*, 55–60.

⁴⁹ This resistance produced a lot of Christian martyrs. This makes Korean experiences of colonialism and Christianity different from that of peoples who were colonized by European Christian nations. See *ibid.*, 62ff.

⁵⁰ Korean Christians' loyalty to the United States was especially strong in Protestant churches. Some among the former Protestant missionaries, who had once worked in the colonial era and come back to Korea after the liberation, participated in the US administration. Twice a year, the military government called an all-day conference, convening all missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic. "They ate at the Army mess, were allowed to buy at the Army post-exchange and commissary, were furnished with billets in former mission property, technically owned by the Army as spoils of war, using household equipment and provided with transportation

one other. American supremacy was understood as a sign of God's excellence as facilitating Christian mission. Christian teaching was combined with political ideologies of anti-communism⁵¹ and with the rhetoric of development, and communists were demonized to the degree that Jesus' commandment to love one's enemies could not be applied to the North Korean leaders.⁵² The churches supported the continued dictatorships by a logic of nonintervention in politics and by preaching an emphasis on material success.

Drastic changes in Korean politics and society have occurred since that time. At the turn of 21st century, democratic changes of regime occurred and the conservative parties and their economic establishment are no longer at the center of political decisions. The leaders of some mammoth Korean churches, despite their earlier logic of division between religion and politics, by which they legitimated their non-opposition to the ex-military dictators and Christian presidents, are among the most ardent reactionary groups against the present administration's reform policies. The leaders and members of these churches, who took part in the recent pro-US and anti-progressive-Roh-administration demonstrations,⁵³ illustrate the sociopolitical loca-

facilities, APO mail service, hospitalization and so forth." Quotation is from Harry A. Rhodes and Archibald Campbell, *History of the Korean Mission: Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., vol. 2, 1939-1959* (New York: Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations, The Presbyterian Churches in the U.S.A., 1965), 379-380, quoted in Kang, *Christ and Caesar*, 75.

⁵¹ Park, *Protestantism and Politics in Korea*, 176-88.

⁵² The experience of the Korean War, especially the communists' persecution of Christians, fueled the hostility toward North Korean leaders. In the first stages of Korean Christianity, more Protestant churches were established in the northern provinces of Korea, and Pyongyang, now the North Korean capital, was even called the "Jerusalem of Asia." During the Korean War, many Christians from the North came to the South and became influential leaders in the South Korean Protestant Church. For example, Young-Nak Presbyterian Church, among the world's largest Presbyterian churches, was founded by Christians immigrating south during the war—including its founding pastor Kyong-jik Han, a Templeton Prize awardee in 1992. Pyongyang Presbyterian Theological School also relocated south and established several branches of Presbyterian theological seminaries, some of which are now among the biggest theological schools. Christian leaders from the North and their descendants have functioned to strengthen the identification of Christian teachings with anti-communism.

⁵³ For example, more than a million Protestants gathered in the "Prayer Rally for the Salvation of the Nation" in October 4, 2004. It was a political demonstration mobilized by the Christian Council of Korea, the biggest association of conservative Protestant churches. Their slogans included "Strengthen the Korean-US alliance!" and "Retain the National Security Law!" The National Security Law is

tion of the majority of Korean Christian churches today, and how they combine political issues with their “gospel”.

However, Korean Christians have not located themselves only on the side of the establishment. Both Protestants and Catholics have also been leaders of and participants in various kinds of struggles for a better society since 1960s,⁵⁴ including the struggles for democratization called the “*minjung* movement,” the efforts for reunification, the movements for women’s liberation, and recent “new social movements” for a civil society.

Korean *minjung* theology both facilitated and resulted from the political and cultural struggles in the 1970s and thereafter.⁵⁵ The *minjung* theologians emphasized solidarity with the oppressed, the exploited, and the marginalized. The first generation of *minjung* theologians drew not only on the Bible and on the contemporary context as sources, but also harvested Korean *minjung* traditions. Unearthing *minjung* traditions—including biblical sayings and narratives describing God’s salvation of the poor and oppressed people,⁵⁶ Korean folk culture,⁵⁷ stories, and histories in which *minjung* are protagonists struggling for liberation—they theologized them.⁵⁸

a repressive law, currently under review by the Moo-Hyun Roh administration (1993–), that progressives have long fought to abolish.

⁵⁴ Kang, *Christ and Caesar*, 99–116; Park, *Protestantism and Politics in Korea*, 188–99.

⁵⁵ For *minjung* theology written in English, see Yong-Bock Kim, ed., *Minjung Theology: People as the Subjects of History* (Singapore: Christian Conference of Asia Commission on Theological Concerns, c. 1981); Idem, *Messiah and Minjung: Christ’s Solidarity with the People for New Life* (Hong Kong: Christian Conference of Asia Urban Rural Mission, 1992); David Kwang-sun Suh, *The Korean Minjung in Christ* (Hong Kong: Christian Conference of Asia, 1991); and Andrew Sung Park, *The Wounded Heart of God: The Asian Concept of Han and the Christian Doctrine of Sin* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, c. 1992). For responses of theologians from North America, Asia, Latin America, and Africa to *minjung* theology, see Jung Young Lee, ed., *An Emerging Theology in World Perspective: Commentary on Korean Minjung Theology* (Mystic, Conn.: Twenty-Third Publications, c. 1988).

⁵⁶ See for example, Byung-Mu Ahn, “Jesus and the Minjung in the Gospel of Mark,” in *Minjung Theology*, 138–152, where Ahn maintains that Mark characterized ὁ ὄχλος (people) as a social class and presented them as the subject of history. See also Hee-Suk Cyris Moon, “An Old Testament Understanding of Minjung,” in *Minjung Theology*, 123–137.

⁵⁷ Young-Hak Hyun theologized the traditional *T’alch’um* (mask dance). See his “A Theological Look at the Mask Dance in Korea,” in *Minjung Theology*, 47–54.

⁵⁸ Namg-Dong Suh theorized the combination of various *minjung* traditions in his thesis titled “confluence of the two stories.” See Suh, “Historical References for a Theology of Minjung,” in *Minjung Theology*, 155–182.

By intentionally locating theology in Korean society and culture, the *minjung* theologians attempted to decolonize Korean Christianity and theology. They developed their own theological methods. For example, they prioritized *minjung* stories over the analytical tools developed by Western theologians. They even refused to define *minjung* in a systematic way, thus, to lock them in a system of ideas, but ventured to understand the people as “living entities” through the “social biography of *minjung*.”⁵⁹ Although *minjung* theologians emphasized Korean context, their understandings of culture were beyond the nativism or retrievalism of previous Indigenization Theologians who combined Korean traditional cultures with Christian ideas. Rather, the *minjung* theologians devised their own critical standards by which they could select and give authority to the traditions most helpful for people’s liberation.⁶⁰

Minjung theology is not without its problems, however. *Minjung* theologians, by identifying the Korean nation with oppressed people, founded their theology on a “*minjung* nationalism” with an emphasis on resistance.⁶¹ This understanding of “nationalism as resistance” and the identification of Korean people as victims no longer function well in the present context of corporate globalization, a context in which Koreans occupy a hybrid position. Moreover, in terms of biblical criticism, *minjung* theologians tended to base their biblical analyses on historical criticism, with an orientation toward social scientific interpretation. While this method was effective in uncovering socio-political aspects of the Bible, it fell short of elaborating the hermeneutical relationship between the text and the reader.⁶² In addition, the *minjung* theologians’ over-identification of themselves

⁵⁹ Yong-Bock Kim, *Messiah and Minjung*, 19–38.

⁶⁰ The *Han* (which can be defined as “anger, resentment, bitterness, grief, broken heartedness, and the raw energy of struggle for liberation”) was considered as one of cultural links that connect *minjung* traditions with each other. Nam-Dong Suh presented *minjung* pastors and theologians as “priests of *Han*.” See his “Towards a Theology of *Han*,” in *Minjung Theology*, 55ff. The *Han* is abundant especially in the stories of women. For a feminist theologian’s biographical description of *Han*, see Hyun Kyung Chung, *Struggle to be the Sun Again: Introducing Asian Women’s Theology* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, c. 1990).

⁶¹ See for example, Byung-Mu Ahn, “Mateo ui minjung minjokchuui” (Matthew’s *minjung* nationalism), in *Theological Thought* 78 (1992): 563–605.

⁶² This hermeneutical problem is pointed out by Chang-Rak Kim, a New Testament scholar oriented toward *minjung* theology. See Kim, “Kiro e sŏ innŭn minjung shin-hak” (Minjung theology standing at the crossroad), *Theological Thought* 96 (1997): 87, 91–92.

with *minjung* resulted in the belief that *minjung* theology is not as appropriate for Koreans as before, because *minjung* were no longer at the helm of social movements.⁶³

In sum, in the modern Korean history, the Japanese colonial legacy and the American hegemony have supported each other, while the domestic dictatorships sustained both. The mixture of material powers and ruling discourses has upheld the US hegemony in South Korea. The pro-Japanese collaborators and the political establishment, including the South Korean government, corporations, scholars, and journalists,⁶⁴ have maintained power with the support of the United States, and in turn, they have functioned as retainers of US influence in every corner of people's lives. This back-scratching alliances of politics, economy, academy, military, and journalism has utilized the combined discourses of modernization, development, anti-communism, nationalism, and globalization, which have followed one after the other, each supporting the next. While Catholics and Protestants have been among both the supportive and oppositional groups of this system, Christian teachings have played perhaps their

⁶³ Until the middle of 1980s, the term "*minjung* movement" provided umbrella under which gathered all progressive movements, including the struggles of laborers, intellectuals, peasants, and women. Most of the leaders and organizers were intellectuals. The change of leadership occurred after the June Uprising in 1987, when the labor movement became the main force of the struggles and "*minjung* movements" were organized by *minjung* themselves, while intellectuals and middle-class people withdrew from the streets. It was in the 1990s that new movements organized by middle-class intellectuals reappeared. They did not call them "*minjung*" any more, but "citizen," and their goal of struggles was changed into a "civil society." They developed into "new social movements," which include various issues formerly gathered under the umbrella of "*minjung*." For discussion of Korean *minjung* movements and social movements written in English, see Nancy Abelman, "Minjung Theory and Practice," in *Cultural Nationalism in East Asia: Representation and Identity* (ed., Harumi Befu; Berkeley, Ca.: University of California Institute of East Asian Studies, 1993), 139–168; Hagen Koo, "The State, Minjung, and the Working Class in South Korea," in *State and Society in Contemporary Korea* (ed., idem; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press); Chulhee Chung, "Social Movement Organizations and the June Uprising," *Korea Journal* 37 (1997): 24–41; Sang-Jin Han, "The Public Sphere and Democracy in Korea: A Debate on Civil Society," *Korea Journal* 37 (1997): 78–97; and William A. Callahan, "Comparing the Discourse of Popular Politics in Korea and China: from Civil Society to Social Movements," *Korea Journal* 39 (1998): 277–322.

⁶⁴ In the areas of academy and journalism, for example, the United States Information Agency (USIA) has managed various programs supporting and "Americanizing" the intellectuals of the Two-Thirds World, including South Korea. Refer to the KBS TV show, "Han'guk òllon ùi pikbŭradŏ mikuk" (The United States, the big brother of Korean journalism), aired on January 13, 2004.

most significant role in producing “consent” to the hegemonic discourses. The religious-political combination of Christian teachings with ruling ideologies, with anticommunism in particular, has reinforced further the binary opposition between “the enemies” and “us,” a dynamic whereby others are demonized. Frequently depending on the “politics of horror,” this dichotomy has contributed to the reification of political establishment. At the same time, the hegemonic system has produced an enormous number of victims economically, politically, culturally, and environmentally. Not only have dissenters been labeled as (pro-)communists and suppressed by the establishment, but a great number of people have been killed in order to maintain this system.

Recently, the unequal relationship between South Korea and the United States has come under question and the status quo’s misuse of anticommunism is being challenged. Following a profound political democratization of South Korean society, the current administration of the President Moo-hyun Roh has launched a reassessment of the nation’s modern history, especially the legacy of colonial collaboration. Despite obstinate resistance from the establishment—including the conservative opposition party, the corporate media, and the conservative Christian churches—there are signs of apparent reform in every sector of South Korean society. Nevertheless, the changes in South Korea may not necessarily be good news for all. Major transnational corporations based in South Korea have joined the ranks of those profiteers from neo-liberal globalization. Migrant workers from other Two-Thirds World countries who now reside in South Korea are low-wage workers, who are exploited in small and medium-sized manufacturing companies, and domestic women workers. This complicated situation of the country necessitates a global awareness, by which we proceed from a national reform to a counter-hegemonic globalization.

Overlapping cultural territories & ambivalent resistance from the third space

In order to address the unequal relations between Korea and other nations, the United States in particular, various theories have been imported and modified in the social sciences and political settings since the 1980s. South Korean society has been described in various ways, including as “dependent development,” as “periphery capitalism,” and as “neo-colonialism.” While these theories offer helpful

insights when one limits the purview to the Korea-US relationship, they do not adequately explain the complexities of South Korea's position in global relations. Prevailing theories have mostly considered South Korea simply as a victim, barely acknowledging the nation's place as a profiteer. This combined position as both profiteers and victims of globalization becomes further complicated when one considers that the benefits and losses of globalization affect both the wealthy and the poor. In addition, because previous analyses in the area of social sciences have largely focused on the political economy, paying less attention to cultural aspects,⁶⁵ these theories need to be complemented by cultural analysis, in ways that better apprehend the multiple complexities of social relations.

I find several theories in cultural studies to be helpful for understanding the web of unequal relations within which Korea is embedded. Edward Said's cultural geography is among them. Said analyzes the postcolonial condition in many Two-Thirds World countries whose physical territory was reclaimed upon the departure of the colonizers, but whose cultural territory has remained under the influence of colonial legacy. In his *Culture and Imperialism*, Said maintains that there are two phases of decolonization: the recovery of "geographical territory," a slow and often bitterly disputed process, and the "charting of cultural territory."⁶⁶ The period of "primary resistance" that involves fighting against outside intrusion is subsumed by a secondary, ideological resistance characterized by ideological or cultural reconstitution. In this second stage, resistance becomes a process "in the rediscovery and reparation of what had been suppressed in the natives' past by the process of imperialism." However, this cultural resistance unfortunately is deployed amid "the partial tragedy . . . that it must to a certain degree work to recover forms already established or at least influenced by the culture of empire."⁶⁷

In appropriating Said's analysis for the Korean context, the two stages of decolonization, the recovery of geographical territory and

⁶⁵ Roland Robertson attends to the cultural factors in globalization. He acknowledges that cultural factors enter into the domain of "real politics" much more than has been conceded by many and argues that we are in a period of "globewide cultural politics." See Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London: Sage, 1992), 28, 61. See also Sanks' analysis of globalization, utilizing Immanuel Wallerstein, Anthony Giddens, and Robertson, in Sanks, "Globalization," 632–637.

⁶⁶ Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 209.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 209–210.

the charting of cultural territory, cannot be temporally separated. The continuing presence of US military bases in South Korea is but one example in this territory issue, and large portions of the land are still occupied by US army bases with a postal address of a city in the US, not Korea.⁶⁸ Despite some limitations, Said's cultural geography is relevant in explaining our struggles as Korean people seeking to reclaim our own cultural territory, especially the struggles against the back-scratching alliances of the US Empire and Korean political establishments and against the political discourses they produce.

Utilizing what he calls "contrapuntal reading,"⁶⁹ Said reveals a distinct cultural topography. When one studies major metropolitan

⁶⁸ According to Article Four of the Mutual Defense Treaty between the Republic of Korea and the United States of America, which was enacted in 1953 and has never been modified, the United States has the right to arrange its "land, air, and sea forces in and about the territory of the Republic of Korea." No limitation in territory and no expiration date are stated. For the full text of MDT, see online: <http://www.historicaltextarchive.com/sections.php?op=viewarticle&artid=324#>. Article Four is detailed in the Status of Armed Forces Agreement (SOFA). The agreement gives US military authorities primary jurisdiction over crimes committed by its soldiers while on duty in South Korea. A similar agreement with Japan was substantially revised in 1995 following a US soldier's rape of a Japanese schoolgirl in Okinawa. Korea, however, has won few concessions, and recently, criticism has targeted how criminal cases are handled. Another source of contention is whether US military bases comply with Korea's environmental regulations. The US policies are in sharp contrast to SOFA in European countries where strict environmental regulations include cost sharing for pollution cleanup and the disclosure of environmental impact information. In addition, the US military does not pay rent for many bases and facilities in Korea. See a *National Catholic Reporter Online* report at http://www.natcath.com/NCR_Online/archives/022803/022803i.htm. This situation questions the relevance of the term "post"-colonial, the question which is one of the most general and hottest issues in the debate around postcolonial theory. See Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures* (London & New York: Routledge, 1989), 2; Stephen Slemon, "Modernism's Last Post," in *Past the Last Post: Theorizing Post-colonialism and Post-modernism*. (eds. Ian Adam and Helen Tiffin; Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1990), 3; Ella Shohat, "Notes on the Postcolonial," *Social Text* 31/32 (1992): 103; and Peter Childs & Patrick Williams, *An Introduction to Post-Colonial Theory* (New York: Prentice Hall/Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1997), 1–8.

⁶⁹ In Said's reading strategy, texts from metropolitan centers and those formerly colonized are studied together. For instance, Said juxtaposes Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, the story of a journey up-river to the dark heart of the African jungle, with some African novels that rewrite the story from the perspective of the colonized. He compares Conrad's work with Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's *The River Between* and Sudanese novelist Tayeb Salih's *Season of Migration to the North*. In these novels, Said shows, the writers "bear their past within them" in various ways: "as scars of humiliating wounds, as instigation for different practices, as potentially revised visions of

cultures in the geographical context of their struggles for (and over) empires, Said suggests, the “structure and attitude of reference” must be made apparent. Metropolitan literature typically fixes the socially desirable and empowered space as located in Europe, and connects that space by design, motive, and development to distant or peripheral worlds, conceived of as desirable but subordinate to Europe.⁷⁰

the past tending towards a postcolonial future,” but, most powerfully, as “urgently reinterpretable and redeployable experiences, in which the formerly silent native speaks and acts on territory reclaimed as part of a general movement of resistance.” See Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 212. Said’s contrapuntal reading highlights exclusions by “reading a text with an understanding of what is involved when an author shows, for instance, that a colonial sugar plantation is seen as important to the process of maintaining a particular style of life in England.” (ibid., 66). For example, in his reading of Jane Austen’s *Mansfield Park*, Said interprets Mansfield Park as both metaphor and metonymy of the colonial domain of Sir Thomas, without whose overseas properties the ordered life of the Park could not function. The juxtaposition is not limited to comparisons between written texts. It also includes “reading” a writer against his or her own contemporary colonial history. For instance, in order to situate Camus “in most (as opposed to a small part) of his actual history,” Said argues that one must consider his French antecedents, as well as the work of post-independence Algerian novelists, historians, sociologists, political scientists. (ibid., 178) Through this way of reading, Said attempts to take account both of process of imperialism and of those in resistance to it. This is done by extending reading of the texts to include what was once forcibly excluded. “In reading a text, one must open it out both to what went into it and to what its author excluded. Each cultural work is a vision of a moment, and we must juxtapose that vision with the various revisions it later provoked.” (ibid., 67)

⁷⁰ To theorize his own cultural geography, Said draws on Antonio Gramsci’s “explicitly geographical model” or “geographical inquiry into historical experience”. Said emphasizes that Gramsci grasps social history and actuality in geographical terms, such as “terrain,” “territory,” “blocks,” and “region.” (ibid., 7). Gramsci offers a unique proposal connecting the south, whose poverty and vast labor pool are vulnerable to northern economic policies and powers, with the north’s dependence on the south. In his “Some Aspects of the Southern Question,” Gramsci points out that, though its social disintegration makes it seem incomprehensible, the south is paradoxically crucial to an understanding of the north. He reflects on Piero Gobetti, whose work “posed the Southern question on a terrain different from the traditional one [which regarded the south simply as a backward region of Italy] by introducing into it the proletariat of the North.” See Quintin Hoare, ed., *Selections from Political Writings (1921–1926)* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1978), quoted in ibid., 49. It was Renate Holub who, a year before Said did, related the “structure of feeling” (Raymond Williams’ term from which Said derives his term “structures of attitudes and reference”) to Gramsci’s Southern Question. Discussing the role of “intellectual community,” Holub focuses on Gramsci’s description of Southern intellectuals’ role in the reproduction of the received images of an “inferior” south. While the intellectuals produced and circulated the consensus among the exploited masses to tie them with the landed property owners, the group of rural petty-bourgeois intellectuals played an important role in sustaining the agrarian bloc between the owners of the means of production in the north and the landowners in the south. While Said uses the terms “structures of attitude and reference” to describe Orientalism

He argues that with these meticulously maintained references come attitudes about rule, control, profit, enhancement and suitability.⁷¹ Some Christian teachings in South Korea have produced or reinforced such a geographical attitude, one in which the US expansion of influence is identified with the expansion of the Reign of God such that the US influence in Korea is understood as God's providence and the US mission as a model the latter should follow.⁷² Although Said's analysis of "structure and attitude of reference" remains a description of the colonizer, his proposal stimulates me to explore how *colonized people* react to these territory issues. I am interested in the space-time of the Reign of God constructed by the New Testament writers, and in particular, Luke's narrative construction of space. I suggest that, through the contrast between the temple and the city of Jerusalem in Luke 19:45–23:56, the colonized narrator attempts to construct an eschatological space alternative to the Empire.

Along with the cultural attitude of the colonizer, Said's contrapuntal reading uncovers the identity of the colonized as overlapping with that of the colonizer. By practicing mobile, eclectic, and multiple methods, Said challenges the dichotomy between the colonizer and the colonized, and argues that "the principle of domination and resistance based on the division between the West and the rest of

in a "cultural topography," Holub use the terms "structure of feeling" to envision a common ground where intellectuals from different backgrounds, Gramsci and Gobetti for instance, can meet each other. See Renate Holub, *Antonio Gramsci: Beyond Marxism and Postmodernism* (London & New York: Routledge, 1992), 155–163.

⁷¹ Analyzing some British writers from this perspective, Said points out: "These structures do not arise from some pre-existing (semi-conspiratorial) design that the writers then manipulate, but are bound up with the development of Britain's cultural identity, as that identity imagines itself in a geographically conceived world." In these geographically articulated visions, it was a strong commitment to "the belief that European pre-eminence is natural, the culmination of what Chisolm calls various 'historical advantages,' that allowed Europe to override the 'natural advantage' of the more fertile, wealthy, and accessible regions it controlled." See Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 48, 52.

⁷² For a study of how Korean missionaries' ideas about the expansion of the Reign of God relate to US imperialism, see Ju Hui Judy Han, "Beyond Enclaves: Korean Evangelicals, Diaspora, and Destiny" (paper presented at "The New Metropolis: Social Change in California's Cities," Institute for the Study of Social Change and Boalt Hall Center for Social Justice, Berkeley, CA, 16 April 2004). Although her study is written against the background of her experience in Korean-American immigrant churches, it is also helpful for understanding the Korean Christians' ideas, because the teachings in Korean-American churches are largely dependent upon the sources produced by Koreans in Korea/Korean.

the world runs like a fissure throughout.”⁷³ In other words, the geographical, cultural, and historical coincidences and convergences suggest “overlapping territories” and “intertwined histories” between the metropolitan and the formerly colonized societies in the contemporary global setting.⁷⁴ He suggests that we understand our own identities as “contrapuntal ensembles”:

In an important sense, we are dealing with the formation of cultural identities understood not as essentializations . . . but as contrapuntal ensembles, for it is the case that no identity can ever exist by itself and without an array of opposites, negatives, oppositions: Greeks always require barbarians, and Europeans Africans, Orientals, etc. The opposite is certainly true as well.⁷⁵

Said’s understanding of identity as a contrapuntal ensemble is further articulated by Homi Bhabha’s theory of hybridity and diaspora, a theory developed from what may be called a micro perspective. As Said does, Bhabha defines identity in terms of space.⁷⁶ He argues that the grim polarities of the colonial encounter are necessarily bridged by a “third-space” of communication, negotiation and, by implication, translation. In this indeterminate zone, this “place of hybridity,”⁷⁷ an anticolonial politics first begins to articulate its agenda

⁷³ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 51.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 52. By looking at different experiences contrapuntally, Said works to formulate an alternative both to the politics of blame and to the even more destructive politics of confrontation and hostility. He suggests that contrapuntal reading, which he calls “the contrapuntal line of a global analysis,” is an antidote to reductive nationalism and uncritical dogma. See *ibid.*, 18, 43, 318.

⁷⁶ Bhabha’s collection, *The Location of Culture*, begins with the sentence: “It is the trope of our times to locate the question of culture in the realm of the *beyond*” [*Italic is the author’s*]. See his “Introduction: Locations of culture,” in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 1.

⁷⁷ Bhabha finds both colonized and colonizer hybridized through processes of domination. Through the unsettling reconfigurations of colonization, the identity formation of the colonizer has been affected both by disquieting fears of the “nativisation” of the colonial edifice, and by speculations about possible corruptions of metropolitan culture by his/her wanderings. As A. Pragden, “The Effacement of Difference: Colonialism and the Origins of Nationalism in Diderot and Herder,” in *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements* (ed. Gyan Prakash; NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 139, describes, “The same routes that have carried the colonist out to the world also allow his vices . . . to seep back into the motherland.” Bhabha emphasizes how the figure of the colonized “native” becomes instrumental in the contamination of colonial meanings. Both the “immoral, wandering colonizer” and the colonized native effect a transformative “corruption,” to the point where the ethical and epistemological center of Western rationality has

and “the construction of a political object that is new, neither the one nor the other, properly alienates our political expectations, and changes, as it must, the very forms of our recognition of the moment of politics.”⁷⁸ From this “in-between-ness” or the “interstitial” space, Bhabha describes the accompanying concept of “diaspora.” Diasporic thought re-evaluates the colonial encounter for its cultural dislocations and the disruption of native/domestic space. Such thought finds its apotheosis in the ambivalent, transitory, and culturally contaminated figure of the exile, caught on the borderline in a historic limbo between home and the world.⁷⁹ Bhabha describes migrancy as an experience of “hybrid hyphenations” derived from “the interstitial, erratic movements that signify culture’s transnational temporalities.” Thus, he argues that colonialism instigates a new politics of “unhomeliness.”⁸⁰

been effectively emptied of its meanings. As Gyan Prakash, *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*. (NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 4, points out, “the mission to spread civic virtue with military power, or propagate the text of the ‘rights of man’ in the context of slave and indentured labor, could not but introduce rifts and tensions in the structure of Western power.” In other words, through the harsh progress of colonial mission, the discourse itself lost much of its hegemonic hold. However, Bhabha’s celebration of hybridity has come under some scrutiny. Leela Gandhi points out that hybridity doubts its effect on the deconstruction of the Western colonizer: “Despite postcolonial attempts to foreground the mutual transculturation of colonizer and colonized, celebrations of hybridity generally refer to the destabilizing of colonized culture. The West remains the privileged meeting ground for all ostensibly cross-cultural conversations. Moreover, within the metropolis, multicultural celebrations of cultural diversity conveniently disguise rather more serious economic and political disparities. In this context, it is also crucial to remain wary of claims which favor ‘hybridity’ as the only ‘enlightened’ response to racial/colonial oppression.” See Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 136. As Moore-Gilbert points out, the term “hybridity” depends conceptually on the assumption that there are such things as “non-hybrid” cultures, an assumption which has not been demonstrated in actuality. Hybridization and diaspora accounts tend to homogenize a monolithic “center” in ways that do not do justice to the realities. Likewise, the Two-Thirds world is constructed in homogenized or monolithic terms. Some cultures of the “center” also historically pride themselves on their hybridity, such as the foundational motto of the United States, *e pluribus unum*. See Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics* (London: Verso, 1997), 193–194.

⁷⁸ Bhabha, “The Commitment to Theory,” in *The Location of Culture*, 25.

⁷⁹ Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory*, 131–132.

⁸⁰ See Bhabha, “Introduction: Locations of culture,” 9, and his “How Newness Enters the World,” in *The Location of Culture*, 219–220. Rey Chow suggests focusing on the epistemological implications of “diaspora” and “migrancy” in order to produce knowledges which are dislocated, deterritorialized, and in circulation as “form[s] of interference.” See Chow, *Writing Diaspora: Tactics of Intervention in Contemporary*

The conjunction between diasporic thought and the discourse of hybridity helps Bhabha in his search for evidence of the mutual transformation of the colonizer and the colonized.⁸¹ He develops this trans-cultural dynamics in relation to an ambivalence found both in the colonizer and in the colonized. For Bhabha, this duality is at first established by colonialism, by the paradoxical move to enforce cultural sameness upon another, a move which, at the same time, produces differentiations and discriminations. Citing Macaulay, Bhabha shows how this ambivalence of desire is manifest in nineteenth-century British colonial policy: "Be the father and the oppressor of the people; be just and unjust, moderate and rapacious."⁸² The ambivalence of desire is, in turn, projected onto the oppressed such that the oppressor understands the latter through a "curiously mixed and split, polymorphous and perverse" stereotype. For instance, the black man is articulated as "both savage (cannibal) and yet the most obedient and dignified of servants (the bearer of food); he is the embodiment of rampant sexuality and yet innocent as a child; he is mystical, primitive, simple-minded and yet the most worldly and accomplished liar, and manipulator of social forces."⁸³ Bhabha argues that the oppressor's ambivalence also instigates ambivalent responses in the oppressed. The oppressor demands that the oppressed imitate him in order to facilitate his rule, but at the same time, the oppressor asks that, in order to sustain cultural rule, the oppressed not be the same. Responding to such a paradoxical request—to be "almost the same but not quite"—the oppressed resists in an ambivalent way, "both against the rules and within them." Resistance is performed through "mimicry."⁸⁴ Constructed around ambivalence, the discourse of mimicry, in order to be effective, continually produces the slippage and excess of difference. While mimicry may appear to be

Cultural Studies (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 142. For Said, too, exile is a condition of profound creative empowerment, facilitating not only an *originality* but also a *plurality* of vision. He writes, "Because the exile sees things both in terms of what has been left behind and what is actual here and now, there is a double perspective that never sees things in isolation." See Said, *Representations of the Intellectual*, the 1993 Reith Lecture (London: Vintage Books, 1996), 44.

⁸¹ Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory*, 133.

⁸² Bhabha, "Sly Civility," in *The Location of Culture*, 95.

⁸³ Bhabha, "The Other Question," in *The Location of Culture*, 82.

⁸⁴ Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The ambivalence of colonial discourse," in *The Location of Culture*, 86, 89.

mimesis, an imitation of the oppressor, Bhabha continues, in actuality it is a mockery.⁸⁵

Bhabha's analysis is useful for understanding the people "in-between," those who are neither explicit profiteers of the hegemonic global hierarchy nor explicit dissidents of the system. The majority

⁸⁵ Ibid., 86. Hybridity and ambivalence as resistance strategies are theorized by postcolonial theorists, who attend to how the colonized appropriate the tools of the colonizer to resist political or cultural control. Many aspects of the imperial culture, including language, forms of writing, film, theater, and even modes of thought and argument such as rationalism, logic and analysis, are selected for appropriation. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin argue in *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts* (London: Routledge, 2000), 19, that the dominated can appropriate the dominant language and its discursive forms to interpolate their cultural experience into dominant modes of representation, "to reach the widest possible audience." They call it "write back to the empire," by which they have titled their seminal work in this area. See Ashcroft et al., *The Empire Writes Back*. Some postcolonial theorists argue that appropriation can be a way of writing for resistance, especially by a way of "misappropriation." Mary Louise Pratt, in her article, "Transculturation and Autoethnography: Peru 1615–1980," in *Colonial Discourse/Postcolonial Theory* (eds. Francis Baker, Peter Hulme, and Margaret Iversen; Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1994), 24–47, suggests that metropolitan modes of understanding are seriously confronted when the native combines a selective appropriation of colonial idioms with indigenous themes. Stephen Slemon, "Modernism's Last Post," in *Past the Last Post: Theorizing Post-colonialism and Post-modernism* (eds. Ian Adam and Helen Tiffin; Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1990), 4, argues that postcolonial criticism's "key" is a "parodic" repetition of imperial "textuality," which he also calls "intertextuality," "intertextual parody," or "quotation" that directly challenges a colonial textual function. Linda Hutcheon, "Circling the Downspout of Empire," in *Past the Last Post: Theorizing Post-colonialism and Post-modernism* (eds. Ian Adam and Helen Tiffin; Calgary, India: University of Calgary Press, 1990), 170–171, highlights "the use of the trope of irony as a doubled or split discourse which has the potential to subvert from within." As a double-talking, she continues, forked-tongued mode of address, irony, the inherent semantic and structural doubleness, becomes a popular rhetorical strategy. It works *within* existing discourses, simultaneously contesting them by rethinking and readdressing history. Appropriating post-structuralist reading strategies, Gayatri Spivak developed the literary habit of "reading against the grain" of the ostensible logic, or surface meaning, of the text in question (Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory*, 84). This is often effected by attention to what she calls the "tangents" of a text. Thus, in "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism," she concentrates on minor characters, sub-plots or seemingly marginal motifs in order to bring out the unconscious racialization of the conceptual frameworks operating in a variety of canonical nineteenth-century women's texts. Equally characteristic for Spivak are techniques of "reconstellation," by which she means the maneuver by which a whole text is taken "out of its proper context and put within alien arguments" ("Feminism and Critical Theory." Pp. 77–92 in *In Other Words: Essays in Cultural Politics* [eds. G.C. Spivak; London & New York: Routledge, 1988], 241), and of "catachresis," the wrenching of particular images, ideas or rhetorical strategies out of their places within a particular narrative and utilizing them to open new arenas of meaning. For Spivak, to simply reverse the dominant discourse as a singular strategy is to remain within a logic defined by the

of the colonized, such people are those most victimized by the Empire, because they experience suppression both by the foreign rulers and by the domestic collaborators. They comply with the imperial rule in order to survive. In many cases, they consent to the dominant discourses, because they do not find hope of a better life from the dissidents. Therefore, they may be blamed, by those who are active in resistance, as collaborators of the hegemonic system. Bhabha reminds us that even those blaming may themselves be simultaneously profiteers and victims of the hegemonic system.

Bhabha's analysis of ambivalence among the colonized can be utilized for understanding the New Testament writers' stance toward the Roman Empire. This dynamic has frequently been mischaracterized as a simple anti- and pro-Roman dichotomy. I contend that, with a few exceptions like the Book of Revelation, the New Testament writings are hardly explicit in their denunciation of the Roman Empire. Some appear to be downright disinterested in political issues (e.g., John 18:36), while others even advocate for obedience to Rome (e.g., Romans 13:1–7). From this lack of outspoken resistance, one might easily conclude that in general the New Testament promotes cooperation with the Empire. Bhabha's cultural analysis demonstrates that this kind of dichotomy, between resistance and compliance, fails to explain the psychology of the colonized. Therefore, I argue, the colonized people's compromise and resistance are ambivalently intermingled.⁸⁶

Utilizing Bhabha in an analysis of Korean culture requires an acknowledgement that his theory has been developed mainly as a strategy of cultural politics within the United States. His own contextual emphasis has been on migrancy and identity within the First World. Therefore, although he has attempted to expand the borders of western theoretical concerns, Bhabha's outlook is not sufficiently

opponent. While reversal must be effected, Spivak emphasizes that it must be succeeded by a displacement of the binary opposition itself. "Without this supplementary distancing, a position and its counter-position . . . will keep legitimizing each other" ("Feminism and Critical Theory," 250). For Spivak, like Derrida, a direct counter-hegemonic strategy within discourse is more liable to cancellation or reappropriation by the dominant position than a "tangential," or "wild," guerrilla mode of engagement. For this reason, she advocates the modes of "negotiation" and "critique," which unsettle dominant suppositions from within (Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory*, 85).

⁸⁶ For my further discussion on Luke's ambivalence, see, for example, pages 187–194.

global for addressing the power relations between nations in the context of hegemonic globalization, a dynamic which has directly influenced the lives of Korean people as well as other people throughout the world. The East Asian global space is not only postcolonial but also neo-imperial, and it requires that we broaden the purview of cultural analysis wide enough to take corporate globalization into account.⁸⁷ Bhabha's theory of hybridity can better function in cooperation with the observation that the present type of globalization is a "powerful homogenizing system," reinforced by the hyper-culture of consumption coming mainly from the United States. This homogenization is symbolized by cultural icons such as Nike, McDonald's, and Coca-Cola,⁸⁸ a list to which Disney and Microsoft can be added.⁸⁹ The hegemonic system facilitates transnational corporations' marketing efforts by homogenizing the people's tastes throughout the world.

I have described a cultural topography of East Asian global space, a space in which cultural territories overlap and identities are hybridized through the history of unequal power relations. I have also examined the Korean situation in the context of hegemonic corporate globalization, or an Americanization in which South Korea occupies an ambivalent position as both profiteer and victim, a hegemony supported by a combination of various discourses. US hegemony in Korea has been supported, I argue, by various ruling discourses and a "politics of horror" based on dichotomies between "us" and "the enemy." People typically face a choice between obedience to the establishment or being persecuted as a (pro-)communist. Located precisely in this cultural space, my biblical interpretation complicates, rather than simplifies, questions about who "we" really are and how

⁸⁷ A note on modernism and postmodernism is in order here. While Said and Bhabha acknowledge the pitfalls of postmodernism/poststructuralism, they actively employ poststructuralist theoretical tools (Said uses Michel Foucault, and Bhabha draws on Jacques Lacan). One needs to be careful when applying postmodernism to the Two-Thirds World including South Korea, because the phenomena and projects of modernity and postmodernity coexist synchronously in its societies and cultures. For a biblical interpretation to be life-giving in a given space (even in the West), both deconstruction and construction as cultural enterprises are required, undermining any theoretical monopoly. Whether it draws on modernism or postmodernism, any single theory cannot by itself be the best strategy for the contexts I discuss.

⁸⁸ Sanks, "Globalization," 631.

⁸⁹ While Sanks lists only companies producing material goods, the intellectual property also has become a significant symbol of the global market.

“we” strive for a more just space as biblical interpreters. In the following section, I continue the discussion of hermeneutics and cultural analysis, focusing on strategic aspects, particularly on identity politics and nationalism, as they can be oriented toward a counter-hegemonic reading strategy of a flesh-and-blood reader.

Politics and poetics of location

The ambivalence and the overlapping nature of South Korean cultural space raise questions about the strategic effectiveness of identity politics and nationalism. The dangers of identity politics have been well characterized. Writing from Thatcherite Britain, Stuart Hall observes the ostensibly multiculturalist maneuvers whereby the Othering and exoticization of ethnicity continue to stabilize the hegemonic notion of “Englishness.” In circumstances like this, ethnicity is always-already named as marginal or peripheral to the mainstream. By contrast, Englishness or Americanness is seldom represented as an ethnicity.⁹⁰ The metropolitan ethnicity is defined as a “lack” of ethnicity. Rey Chow and Gayatri Spivak suspect that this “lack” embodies a longing “once again for the pure Other of the West,”⁹¹ in other words, a neo-Orientalism.⁹² Said, too, maintains that nativism is not the only alternative and that nationalism is also not a fully useful approach.⁹³ Following Franz Fanon, who envisions liberation not as nationalist independence, but as a novel transformation of social consciousness beyond nationality,⁹⁴ Said likewise emphasizes the need to end the period of nationalist anti-imperialism.⁹⁵ When

⁹⁰ Stuart Hall, “New Ethnicities,” in *Black Film, British Cinema* (ICA Documents 7; London: Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1989), reprinted in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (eds. David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen; London: Routledge, 1996), 441–449. For Hall’s further discussion on ethnicity, class, and representation, see his “Gramsci’s relevance for the study of race and ethnicity,” *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10.2 (1986): 5–27; “Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structuralist Debates,” *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 2.2 (1985): 91–114; and “What is This ‘Black’ in Black Popular Culture?” in *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues*, 465–475.

⁹¹ Gayatri Spivak, *The Postcolonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues* (ed. Sarah Harasym; New York: Routledge, 1990), 8.

⁹² Rey Chow, *Writing Diaspora*, 12.

⁹³ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 230.

⁹⁴ Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*. (trans. Constance Farrington; New York: Grove Press, 1963), 203.

⁹⁵ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 264.

“nation-ness” becomes the dominant narrative, voices of various groups, including women often face exclusion and re-marginalization. Recent changes in South Korea’s place in the global hierarchy also demonstrate that nationalism can metamorphose into imperialism, just as the European colonialism was an expansion of nationalism.⁹⁶

However, some theorists continue to emphasize the strategic merits of nationalism, for instance as it is espoused by those who draw on Tom Nairn’s notion of a genetic code inscribed by the signals of “health” in nationalism.⁹⁷ While “nation” or “nation-state” is clearly not a fully positive space of life, perhaps we do not yet have a better place where people are safeguarded in their struggles with problems such as inequality, marginalization, uneven access to information, and destruction of cultural self-esteem. Unless the “local” raises such issues or problematizes them, Du-Yul Song reminds us, there may

⁹⁶ Critiques of nationalism tend to follow the following modes of reasoning: (1) The myth of nationhood perpetuates a nationalism in which specific identities are employed to create exclusive and homogeneous conceptions of national traditions. Such signifiers of homogeneity always fail to represent the diversity of the actual ‘national’ community for which they purport to speak (Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin), including the “problem” of women (Elaine Kim, Chungmoo Choi). (2) Nationalists seek to place their own country in an ‘immemorial past’ where its arbitrariness cannot be questioned (Fanon, Bhabha). (3) Nationalism is essentially negative or divisive (Hobsbawm) and characterized by xenophobia, racism, and the loathing that attends the rhetoric of particularism (Leela Gandhi). Aggressive assertions of cultural identity frequently get in the way of wider international solidarities. (4) Nationalism reiterates the binary oppositions and hierarchies of colonial discourse, such that even to accept nativism is to accept the consequences of imperialism, the racial, religious, and political divisions imposed by imperialism itself (Said). (5) When nationhood is the only matrix for political change, the anti-colonial will-to-difference simply becomes another surrender to the economy of the Same—a copy of that by which it felt itself to be oppressed (Gandhi). (6) Nation-ness and nationalism are European inventions that came into existence toward the end of the eighteenth century and colonialism was itself a type of nationalism. There are also voices supporting the strategic merits of nationalism: (1) Nationalism achieves its entitlement through the systematic mobilization, regulation, disciplining and harnessing of “subaltern” energy (Guha). (2) It has a capacity to distill a shared experience of dominance so that it can establish a vertical solidarity between the peasantry, workers, capitalists, feudal landowners and the bourgeoisie elite (Fanon). (3) Nationalism has a capacity to heal the historical wounds inflicted by the “Manichean” structure of a colonial culture that confines the colonized to a liminal, barely human existence (Fanon). (4) The memory of anti-colonial nationalism in Asia and Africa might help to politicize the abstract discursivity of some postcolonial theory (Benita Parry).

⁹⁷ Tom Nairn contends that the genetic code of all nationalism is simultaneously inscribed by the contradictory signals of what he calls “health” and “morbidity”: “forms of ‘irrationality’ (prejudice, sentimentality, collective egoism, aggression etc.) stain the lot of them.” See Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism*. London: New Left Books, 1977), 347–348.

be no “global” solution.⁹⁸ Criticizing Nicklas Luhman’s argument that the meaning of time and space will disappear in “World Society,” Song adds that the historically and socially formed space, which is expressed in such words as “life space,” “cultural space,” and “social space,” will remain central problems of the world society.⁹⁹

Beyond both essentialism and anti-essentialism

At the turn of the twenty-first century, the problems raised by nationalism and identity politics tended to be addressed in debates between essentialist and anti-essentialist views. A simplistic choice between essentialism and anti-essentialism evades the real issues, because the dominant culture is able to make use of not only the logic of “essential” identity but also of hybridity. While essentialism dangerously fixes identities and therefore fixes assumed power relations, a post-structuralist anti-essentialism, though it reveals essentialism’s liabilities and assumptions, does not in itself offer a better strategy.¹⁰⁰ Spivak’s “strategic essentialism” addresses the issue. Supporting a subaltern’s deployment of the sovereign subject, Spivak says: “I would read it, then, as a strategic use of positivist essentialism in a scrupulously visible political interest.” While it is permissible to “strategically take shelter in essentialism”—as she herself often does with her eclectic methodology—Spivak indicates that the concept must always be utilized “under erasure,” that is, not mistaken for a “universal truth.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Du-Yul Song, *Minjok un sarajiji annunda* (“Nation does not disappear”; Seoul: Daily Han’gyore, 2000), 41.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ While Said thinks that Foucault is “useful” for resistance theory but remains critical to Derrida (he says, “Derrida’s criticism moves us into the text, Foucault’s in and out”), Spivak prefers the latter to the former. Neither, however, argue that postmodernism/poststructuralism itself is anti-imperial. It is important to remember that modernism was also at one time a theory of liberation, as was nationalism, until the recent anti-imperialist independence struggles.

¹⁰¹ Spivak, “In a Word: Interview,” in *Outside in the Teaching Machine* (ed. Idem; London & New York: Routledge, 1993), 1–23; idem, “Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography,” in *In Other Words: Essays in Cultural Politics* (ed. Idem; London: Routledge, 1988), 202; and idem, “Feminism and Critical Theory,” in *In Other Words*, 91–92. Stuart Hall’s “articulation” is another strategy beyond both essentialism and anti-essentialism, which is close to Mary Tolbert’s “politics of location” to which I transit. Hall’s model of strategic intervention is “a theoretically-informed practice of rearticulating relations among the social forces that constitute articulated structures in specific historical conjunctures.” Jennifer Daryl Slack, “The Theory and Method of Articulation in Cultural Studies,” *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues*,

Mary Tolbert's "politics of location," as distinct from a politics of identity, presents a more nuanced proposal for the problems of identity by synthesizing essentialism and anti-essentialism. In a series of essays in the two volumes of *Reading from This Place*, Tolbert points out the problems of identity politics, "'I' am not a unified self with a single identity over time but instead a constantly shifting, fluid set of subjectivities, occupying a variety of status positions from moment to moment and context to context."¹⁰² People tend to believe that individual perspectives express the essential identity of a single and personal marginalized status position. Because only the "negative" or non-normative positions of our mixed status are marked and thus draw our own and others' attentions, we can easily define "our essential identity as our marginalized status, while eclipsing our various privileged 'identities'." As a result of the invisibilization of privilege and the singularization of perspectives, we have come to think that we can view everything in only one particular way and that only we, as ones oppressed, can view things in such a way. "The logical result of such perspectivalism is reading of value only to the marginalized group involved (women write for women, Asians for Asians, and so on) and, therefore, most importantly, readings that can be dismissed by those of the dominant discourse."¹⁰³

Tolbert's awareness of the shifts and fluidities of identity runs in a vein similar to postmodern concerns "to de-naturalize some of the dominant features of our way of life; to point out that those entities that we unthinkingly experience as 'natural' . . . are in fact 'cultural'; made by us, not given us."¹⁰⁴ However, Tolbert criticizes the non-activist tendencies of postmodern theory, especially the American variety. Contrary to those who esteem identity politics, the tendencies of American poststructuralists have often molded Derrida's critique of Western metaphysics:

into a joyful, elitist nihilism that invokes the 'free play of difference' to trample over every assertion of voice, standpoint, or 'rights,' whether

122. See further discussion on the theory and strategy of "articulation," see Lawrence Grossberg, ed., "On Postmodernism and Articulation: an Interview with Stuart Hall," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10.2 (1986): 45–60.

¹⁰² Mary Ann Tolbert, "Reading for Liberation," in *Reading from This Place*, vol. 1, 266.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 273.

¹⁰⁴ Linda Hutcheon, *The Politics of Postmodernism* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 2, quoted in Tolbert, "The Politics and Poetics of Liberation," in *Reading from This Place*, vol. 1, 307–308.

from those defending the status quo or, more likely in recent years, from those demanding an end to oppressive structures. . . . What the radically aesthetic position of many American poststructuralists ignores, or perhaps actually intends to hide, is that present social structures are already profoundly encoded with claims about “truth,” “meaning,” and “justice,” regardless of how little warranted theoretically, that serve to protect those in power from losing that power or having to share it.¹⁰⁵

Another problem hinders postmodernism from being appropriated effectively for activist politics. Tolbert questions postmodernism’s “challenge to the notions of self” as juxtaposed against the persistent necessity of identity in politics. She acknowledges that “narrow and rigid determinations of ‘essence’ have also been used to exclude those whose views contrasted with movement leaders and to test one’s loyalty to the political group.” Yet, she also draws attention to the fact that political solidarities in the face of racist, patriarchal constructions of modern Western society appear to require the notion of identity.¹⁰⁶

Adapting Adriene Rich’s metaphors of the “facts of blood” and the “facts of bread,” Tolbert develops a politics of location that not only affirms “essential” ties of identity but also reflects the “complexity and fluidity of lived experience.” For her, the “fact of blood” indicates the “broad areas of physical and mental integrity,” including race, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and family affiliation, which are often individually considered as one’s “essence” and elements of identity politics. However, Tolbert emphasizes that each person needs to be understood from *all* his or her “facts of blood,” which are “profoundly interrelated.” This social and personal complexity is often ignored or denigrated by narrow descriptions of “essence.” While the “fact of blood” forms the shifting complexity of the one who speaks, the “facts of bread” locate “where one speaks, the grounds of authority, national and institutional context, economic and educational status that shape each utterance we make and often determine who will listen to what we say and who will not.” Consequently, the “facts of blood and bread” together locate us socially and politically at any given moment “in relation to access to power, freedom from oppression, and human dignity and integrity,

¹⁰⁵ Tolbert, “The Politics and Poetics of Liberation,” 309.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 310–311.

and they indicate the possible options for political coalition of interest to each person.”¹⁰⁷

The debates on nation and nationalism have been deployed between two poles. Not unlike Tolbert’s two metaphors of blood and bread, three fundamental debates have structured and defined the historiography of nationalism, analyzed in some depth by Anthony D. Smith. The first polarity concerns the nature and origin of the nation/nationalism between “organist” and “voluntarist” understandings, expressed in the contemporary debate between “primordialists” and “instrumentalists.” In the second debate, on themes of the antiquity or modernity of nation/nationalism, “perennialist” versus “modernist” approaches arise. The third debate concerns the role of nation/nationalism in historical and, especially, in recent social change. Polarities developed between “ethnosymbolic” and “social constructionist” approaches to nation/nationalism, and contemporary debates about the relationship of past and present in the formation and future of nations continue.¹⁰⁸ The former pole of each debate roughly corresponds to the “facts of blood” and the latter to the “facts of bread.”

While Benedict Anderson defines nation as an “imagined community” from the perspective of the second pole,¹⁰⁹ a view that underlies many postcolonial theories on nationalism, Jie-hyun Yim suggests a synthesis of the two positions. He views nation/nationalism from the perspective of the history of social movements. Just as an individual in a society is not primarily an abstraction of “the individual” but the reality of an ensemble of social relations, so “nation” ought not to be regarded primarily as an abstract collectivity, but as an ensemble of social relations.¹¹⁰ While the reality of a national community is acknowledged, it must be considered in its historical

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 311–312; Tolbert, “When Resistance Becomes Repression: Mark 13:9–27 and the Poetics of Location,” in *Reading From This Place, vol. 2: Social Location and Biblical Interpretation in Global Perspective* (ed. F.F. Segovia and idem; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 331.

¹⁰⁸ See Anthony D. Smith’s summary in his *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2000), 2–3.

¹⁰⁹ Benedict Anderson says in his *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 145, “If nationalness has about it an aura of fatality, it is nonetheless a fatality embedded in history . . . from the start the nation was conceived in language, not in blood, and that one could be ‘invited into’ the imagined community.”

¹¹⁰ This recalls Marx’s sixth thesis on Feurbach. See Karl Marx, “Theses on

situation. Nationalism is understood as a movement that is alive, continuously modifying its own direction and contents in response to changing social relations. Consequently, nationalism has diverse and shifting faces, as it responds to changing historical conditions and terrain of ideologies. From such a perspective, “primordialist” and “instrumentalist” understandings each carry only a partial truth.¹¹¹

Approaches such as Tolbert’s politics of location and Yim’s historical social movement approach to nation and nationalism offer alternatives not only for conceptualizing identities, including ethnicity and nation, but also for examining the realities of struggle. From my perspective, most significant aspect of each of these theories is the presentation of a non-essentialistic means of resistance. Tolbert’s theory of solidarity is convincing in this regard. She describes a politics of location, in which solidarity may be “founded upon the affective experience of oppression rather than solely upon narrow definitions of ‘essence’ or particular collective circumstances.” In such a shared affective experience, “cohesion would result from the shared yearning for a different reality, rather than from the duplication of ‘identity’.” It is this “sensibility of yearning” or the “empathy” created by this sensibility that undergirds the creation of political coalitions.¹¹² Such an understanding of solidarity, which does not allow certain “ingredients” of identity to be privileged, while suppressing others, opens possibilities for coalitions to develop between a variety of struggles in which a shared resistance to imperialism might otherwise be impossible. A shared “sensibility of yearning” could create coalitional solidarity, for instance, between feminism, environmental justice movements, and struggles for counter-hegemonic globalization. Ruether’s recent book *Integrating Ecofeminism, Globalization, and World Religions* is a good example of this.

Hermeneutics as rhetoric

Tolbert’s “politics of location” prepares a place for her “poetics of location.” A “poetics of location” bases itself on the multiplicity,

Feurbach,” in *The Marx-Engels Reader* (2nd edition; ed. Robert C. Tucker; New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1978), 143–145.

¹¹¹ Jie-hyun Yim, *Minjokchuui nun panyok ida: sinhwa wa homu ui minjokchuui tamnon ul nomoso* (Nationalism is a treason: beyond nationalism of myth and futility; Seoul, Korea: Chohap kongdongch’e sonamu, 1999), 21–38.

¹¹² Tolbert, “The Politics and Poetics of Location,” 313.

complexity, and contextuality of human experience, but the insistence on fluidity does not require that “all perspectives are applicable at all times to all subjects.” Rather, a poetics of location deeply engages itself in “analyzing each site of writing, reading, or theorizing by carefully investigating the specific historical, cultural, political, and social matrix that grounds it.”¹¹³ A poetics of location not only acknowledges that the reader’s social location affects his or her interpretation, but also recognizes language as constitutive of, rather than merely reflective of, reality. This postmodern understanding of language shifts the interpretative task of a poetics of location “from hermeneutics to rhetoric.”¹¹⁴ An interpretation as rhetoric takes serious account of language as power, as creating or destroying worlds and as constructing visions of “the good, the true, and the beautiful,” while also situating itself “in communities of accountability and structures of responsibility.”¹¹⁵ Hermeneutics as rhetoric requires a variety of critical languages and critical practices, always dependent on the contexts and the concerns of those involved. Therefore, “one must learn to listen to others carefully and fully, and one must always analyze one’s own self-interests thoroughly before critiquing those of others.”¹¹⁶

As a poetics of location, my reading strategy focuses itself and is focused by the cultural matrix of East Asian global space that grounds my own acts of reading and writing. I acknowledge the shift from hermeneutics to rhetoric, and I seek a reading toward that which is life-giving. Because the contemporary situation of corporate globalization works against the vividness of life in bodily, spiritual, social, and cultural arenas,¹¹⁷ my biblical interpretation envisions a counter-hegemonic globalization¹¹⁸ that is simultaneously a decolonization.

¹¹³ Ibid., 314.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 315–316.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 316–317.

¹¹⁷ Anselm K. Min maintains that “imperialist globalization” provides the most significant context for contemporary theology, because (1) globalization by hegemonic imperialism poses a most fundamental threat, the threat to human life itself as created and redeemed by God for eternal life, (2) it is more far-reaching in its scope of the evil and suffering it inflicts than any other form of human injustice, and (3) it is structurally central, in that it sets the condition for all other contemporary contexts. See Min, “Imperialism and Resistance,” 17–20.

¹¹⁸ See Peter Evans, “Transnational Social Networks” and his “Transnational Social Movements.”

Tolbert's analysis of privilege provides a further impetus for such a reading. She points out how most people are at the same time both disadvantaged by and benefiting from the culture to which they belong; losses and gains are connected to the various "facts of blood and bread." However, by defining our "essential" identity as our marginalized status, while concealing our various privileged "identities," identity groups often imitate the exclusion of hegemonic culture "in all but their one marginalized subject position." Thus, social movements frequently set as their goal "not changing the system as a whole but reforming an 'unjust' element affecting me so that my essential marginalized identity will no longer be disenfranchised."¹¹⁹ As discussed, my East Asian global space seeks transformations of cultural relations both within and outside of a single country, because corporate globalization not only exploits the national economy, but it also marginalizes various groups within and outside of the nation, including peasants, women, and urban poor, devastates human environments and damages people's cultural self-esteem. At the same time, a counter-hegemonic globalization can not portray itself as a grand narrative but needs seriously to take account of people's every day lives.

A hermeneutics as rhetoric considers the context not only of the interpreter but also of the readers of that interpretation. I locate a significant group of readers of my biblical interpretation in the interpretative community of South Korean Protestant churches. As in most other Two-Thirds World nations, the theological academy in South Korea has little constituency independent from denominational churches, and the theologians primarily address the churches rather than other professionals in the academy.¹²⁰ In Korean society, where

¹¹⁹ Tolbert, "Reading for Liberation," 265–266.

¹²⁰ Unofficial data says that South Korea alone has theological faculties greater in number than the summation of their counterparts in all other Asian countries, including Australia. Nevertheless, the teachers at the seminaries and Christian colleges in South Korea are required to focus primarily on educating college-level students and denominational pastor-candidates. Books and essays written by the theologians tend to be aimed, rather than at other professionals or at high-level academic students, toward more basic level students, most of whom do not want to be academic. Theologians also tend to work under the influence of their denominations. Most seminaries in Korea are denominational, bringing up pastors only for their own denomination. Although recently some Christian universities established non-denominational M.Div. programs, technically, their graduates cannot be ordained by any denomination. Although the Christian studies departments of colleges provide space relatively free from denominational doctrines, such departments

Christianity is not the civil religion, the church has understood itself as an entity separated from the pagan world. This lack of common ground between church and non-Christian society not only necessitates that most theologians stay “within” the church, but it narrows the common ground even among theologians. Only that which Christians share as Christians, rather than as human beings or as Koreans, is usually considered as a valid theological foundation. My cultural hermeneutics extends the common ground between Korean Protestant churches and the “secular” society, and at the same time, it extends the conversation among the theologians.

The gap between Christianity and the non-Christian world has established the Bible as the sole common ground for theology among Korean Protestants. Ideological criticism of the Bible, therefore, needs to be used carefully in this context. On the one hand, given that the Bible is almost the only accepted theological foundation, uncovering its full life-giving potentials is a more pragmatic and effective reading strategy than undermining “the only” ground of theology.¹²¹ On the other hand, considering its influence, processes of biblical interpretation need to be aware of a history, in which, utilized as a source of both inspiration and alienation, of both liberation and suppression, the Christian Bible has authorized meanings given to both life and death. Considering Korean churches’ growing influence upon the society, it is urgent for us as biblical interpreters to utilize the Bible carefully and strategically to cultivate the life-giving potentials of its interpretation.

Summary

Starting from the hermeneutical premise that both the text and the reader are socially and historically located, I have described my understanding of the cultural location from which I interpret the Bible and a reading strategy drawn primarily from Mary Tolbert’s “politics and poetics of location.” My own politics of location, an

have not developed into academies independent from the churches, because graduate-level theological education is done mostly in the denominational seminaries.

¹²¹ For example, in some western societies where women’s rights are taken for granted, demonstrations of the Bible as a book of women’s liberation might be understood as a justification not only of women’s right but also (perhaps negatively) of the Bible. However, in more patriarchal societies where women’s humanity is still in need of legitimation, the Bible can be used as a powerful advocate of that legitimation.

East Asian global perspective, considers the mixtures and fluidity of the cultures and identities of the Korean people, formed through a history of unequal relations in the East Asian global space. Sustained by various discourses, South Korea has occupied an ambivalent place as both profiteers and victims of the corporate globalization or Americanization, the US hegemony established both in global dimensions and within South Korea. The complex status of the nation and the people, as well as the dominant discourses sustaining the global hierarchy, requires the development of cultural alternatives, counter-hegemonic discourses. As a counter-discourse, a poetics of location, rather than replicating the exclusions of hegemonic culture by sticking on any single element of identity, seeks a more fundamental change. This reading strategy motivates a shift from hermeneutics to rhetoric, stimulating a freshly focused mode of attention for readers, both within and outside the Christian churches.

Reading Luke from an East Asian global perspective

How, then, does this reading strategy work for an interpretation of Luke 19:45–23:56? As we proceed to an assessment of previous Lukan studies and to a detailed textual analysis, utilizing my East Asian global perspective, we need to remember that not only the contemporary reader but also the text of Luke-Acts¹²² is/was located in the world. Joel Green points out that the Gospel is not only a narrative text but also a “cultural text.” That is, “the Gospel of Luke is itself a representation of the values and contexts within which it

¹²² In order to locate Luke’s text in its social setting, I follow some widely accepted premises of historical critical studies, including those which claim the Gospel’s post 70 CE date and the Two Source (or Four Source) Theory. It is generally acknowledged that the Gospel of Luke was written 10–20 years after the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple by the Roman army, suggesting that the Gospel’s author and readers likely knew about the Jewish War. Despite some dissenting hypotheses, the majority of scholars acknowledge that the Gospel of Mark and Q are major sources (among others) of Luke (Luke 1:1–3). While there is no fixed opinion about where Luke was composed nor whether its author was a Gentile Christian or a Jew, and while the author’s imperfect knowledge of Palestinian geography hints that he may be a Gentile Christian or a diaspora Jew, the text displays his abundant knowledge of the LXX. The author of Luke-Acts would be a male person. Given the author’s identification of himself as a man (the masculine participle in 1:3), and given the patriarchal culture of the ancient Mediterranean world and the lack of strong evidence to support that Luke was written by women, it would be hard to think otherwise.

was generated, so any attempt to dislodge the Gospel from its own world would render it in some ways incomprehensible.”¹²³ With his definition of Luke as a cultural text, Green does not mean to return to a historical-critical reconstruction of the social world behind the text, but rather, his claim serves as a reminder that all language is embedded in culture.

Hence, when we speak of discerning Luke’s “social setting” we mean more than “narrative world” as this phrase is used in narrative criticism. We mean more than the world available to us only through the narrative viewed as a closed system, but less than the world often represented to us by historical-critical inquiry. The former strips the Gospel of Luke of its cultural embeddedness, while the latter assumes too easily that the (real) social world wherein Luke’s story is set can and should simply be read into Luke’s narrative.¹²⁴

Viewed in the midst of the cultural assumptions of the world to which Luke gave witness and in which the Gospel was written, Luke is understood to draw on such assumptions “in order to affirm as well as to undermine them.” For Green, Luke’s narrative is “an invitation to embrace an alternative worldview,” in which God “has brought down the powerful from their thrones, and lifted up the lowly” (Luke 1:52).¹²⁵

The cultural assumptions of Luke’s contemporary time and space were formed in major ways through engagements with the widespread Hellenism, a major effect of the Greek Empire,¹²⁶ and the realities of the Roman Empire. While the degree to which the Roman Empire exerted influence likely varied according to one’s social location, the presence of Rome as the imperial ruler is clear for Luke.

¹²³ Joel Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1997), 11.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 11–12.

¹²⁶ The process of “Hellenization” was so prevalent that “no one can doubt that Jews of the Diaspora came into close contact with the institutions, language, literature, art, and traditions of Hellas in cities like Alexandria, Cyrene, Antioch, and Ephesus, even to the point of losing touch with Hebrew.” Hellenism was no pure strain of Greek culture but “a mongrel entity—or rather entities, with a different blend in each location of the Mediterranean.” Hellenistic Judaism was formed in such a context, and this hybridity provided the seedbed for Christianity. For the study of Hellenistic Judaism, see Erich S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley, Ca.: University of California Press, 1998), especially xiv; and John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (2nd edition; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2000).

The imperial system and the Romans are easily found in Luke's narrative. The Roman Emperor is at the zenith of the worldly powers over Palestine (Luke 3:1–2), and affects even the lowest levels of the imperial hierarchy (e.g., Luke 2:1–7). Luke includes both positive and negative descriptions of Rome. While sometimes the imperial power is supportive of the Jewish religion and culture (Luke 7:5), in other mentions it is oppressive (Luke 13:1) and even destructive (Luke 21:20–24). Both cooperation with (Luke 23:2, 5) and resistance to Rome (Luke 23:18–25) are displayed by the characters in Luke. Jesus in Luke praises a Roman official (Luke 7:9) and denounces another (Luke 13:32). Finally, Jesus is crucified by the Roman official authority (Luke 23:25). The ambivalence in Lukan text has resulted in diverse interpretations concerning Luke's view of Rome. Regardless of their opinions on Luke's stance, Lukan scholars generally acknowledge that the reality of the Empire is a crucial context for understanding the Gospel of Luke.

The following chapters of the project result from an engagement between the culturally located text of Luke and me as a flesh-and-blood reader. My own cultural location formed through the history of unequal relations has motivated me to attend to the *mutuality* of impact between Luke and the Roman Empire. A cultural analysis, especially of colonial ambivalence and of identities understood from the “third space,” helps me to examine the complexities and dualities in Luke's stance toward Rome (and toward the Jewish authorities) and to illuminate these characteristics in light of multiple relationships, including the triangular power relations between Jesus, the Jewish leadership, and the Roman officials. My concern with space-time and power relations leads to a deeper exploration of Luke's narrative construction of space, a construction related to his eschatology and to his view of contemporary reality as dominated by the Empire. The emphasis on the “spatial” lifts out otherwise obscured dichotomies, replete in Lukan studies, an endeavor that I undertake in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

THE REIGN OF GOD AND ROME IN PREVIOUS LUKAN STUDIES

Space-time and power relations in Luke's theology

Although it has been more than fifty years since Conzelmann's *Die Mitte der Zeit* was first published,¹ his name remains significant in contemporary Lukan studies. In particular, his theological harboring of the Reign of God within the Roman Empire in Luke, in terms of both space and time, still has immense influence upon New Testament scholars.² Conzelmann's epoch-making claim was that Luke's theology was developed as a response to "the situation in which the Church finds herself by the delay of the Parousia and her existence in secular history," i.e. the situation where the Church faces the reality of the Empire.³ Conzelmann's Luke came to terms with this situation by portraying Jesus and his followers as accommodating to the Empire, which was in turn favorable to the Church. To remove the possible conflict between the Reign of God and Rome, Conzelmann argues that Luke modifies the "original eschatological perspective"⁴ in two ways, in time and in space. First, by deferring the parousia into a distant future, Luke allegedly comes to terms with the time of the Empire. As a result, the present time—the period of the Church in the salvation history—is left in the hands of Rome. Conzelmann's Luke also claims a compromise with the space of the Empire: by removing the Reign of God to a transcendental space, this world is entrusted to the Empire.⁵ Consequently, Conzelmann

¹ Hans Conzelmann, *Die Mitte der Zeit: Studien zur Theologie des Lukas* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1953). It is translated into English with the title *The Theology of St. Luke*.

² Concerning "the commending position of Conzelmann's monograph on Luke-Acts" until 1970, see the assessment of Charles H. Talbert, "The Redaction Critical Quest for Luke the Theologian," in *Jesus and Man's Hope*, vol. 1 (ed. David. G. Buttrick; Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, 1970–1971), 171.

³ Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke* (trans. Geoffrey Buswell; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1961), 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁵ The theory of "political apologetic," with which Conzelmann argues that Luke

separates Luke's vision of the Reign of God from the space-time of the Empire. What motivated these alleged spatial-temporal separations was Luke's concern with the imperial power relation.

Though, for Conzelmann, Luke's purpose of writing was "political," such an intention resulted in an "apolitical" description of Jesus and the Church. This paradox is enabled by a misplaced binary division between religion and politics. In Conzelmann's demarcation, the Reign of God and the Empire correspond with religion and politics respectively.⁶ Jesus' kingship "does not stand opposed to the Empire on the political plane."⁷ The relationship between the Jewish leadership and the Roman Empire is also understood through such a separation: the Jerusalem leadership represents "religion" and Rome represents the "State." While Conzelmann devotes a separate chapter to an analysis of the Church's relationship with Judaism and with the Empire, therefore, he does not consider any colonial relations between the two worldly powers.⁸ Jesus' conflict with the Jewish leadership in Luke is treated only as an (intra-)religious issue, and the role of the Jewish authorities as a vassal of the Empire is ignored in the textual analysis.

While subsequent scholarly debates on Luke's eschatology are "very far from agreement," or "a consensus exists only in considering Conzelmann's synthesis inadequate,"⁹ they are heavily influenced by Conzelmann's division between religion and politics, and thus, between the Reign of God and Rome. Although some scholars still offer helpful insights that illuminate the problem, others have largely disregarded Luke's vision of the Reign of God as alternative to the Empire.

intended to show the Church's innocuousness and loyalty to the Empire, is based on such an understanding of Luke's theological situation. While it is an apology for the church, the "political apologetic" theologically legitimates the Empire.

⁶ This binary division between religion and politics was not created by Conzelmann, but he chose to use this demarcation inherited from longer tradition of the modern Western Christian scholarship. However, as Joel Green correctly points out, applying the separation of religion and politics to the ancient writings like Luke-Acts is "the consequence of a gross anachronism." See Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1997), 798.

⁷ Conzelmann, *Theology*, 189.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 137–149.

⁹ Such assessments of the 1970s and the 1980s would be still relevant. See Robert Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1982), 102; Talbert, "Shifting Sands: The Recent Study of the Gospel of Luke," *Interpretation* 30 (1976): 381–395; and Earl Richard, "Luke—Writer, Theologian, Historian: Research and Orientation of the 1970s," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 13 (1983): 4.

While debates on Luke's eschatology have focused on dimensions of time (the delay of the parousia and the salvation history) and space (spiritualized/individualized/realized and/or cosmic/collective/futuristic) of the Reign of God, scholars have been mostly silent concerning the implications of spatial-temporal dimensions on Luke's view of the power relations with Rome. Following Conzelmann's demarcation, scholars mostly have chosen to stay within "apolitical" descriptions of Luke rather than to confront any "political" purpose in his writing. Therefore, while there have been fervent scholarly contentions against Conzelmann's thesis that Luke discarded the immediacy of the apocalyptic hope, among most of the same scholars, Luke is discharged of an "original eschatological perspective" that is an alternative to the political establishment.¹⁰

In the first half of this survey, I summarize the scholarly debates on the timing and space of Luke's eschatology. These debates are mostly severed from concern with power relations. Although these studies hardly concern Luke's view of the Empire, they are still related to my project, because the questions on the time and space are pertinent to the nature of the Reign of God. The second half of the survey is focused upon the three particular proposals on Luke's view of Rome (Conzelmann, Walaskay, and Cassidy).¹¹ Through the

¹⁰ Concerning the political nature of apocalypticism, see Paul Hanson, "Prophetic and Apocalyptic Politics," in *The Last Things: Biblical and Theological Perspectives on Eschatology* (ed. Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson; Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge, UK: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2002) 43–66. Hanson places apocalyptic politics among the five political models in the Old Testament, including theocracy, monarchy, sapiential model, and prophetic politics. He proposes that the apocalyptic model arose in the periods where any effort of the faithful to give public testimony on the standards of justice and compassion of God was repulsed by violence and persecution. In such a situation, their need could be addressed only by "apocalyptic visions assuring them that all appearances notwithstanding, God remains sovereign and God's righteous reign will prevail." Hanson applies the apocalyptic model in two different situations of the history of biblical Israel: (1) the situation where members of an oppressed religious minority were suffering at the hands of their nation's own religious and political elite; (2) where citizens of the Jewish nation were suffering persecution inflicted by an occupying foreign power. He adds that such a distinction is not always clear, as in the Maccabean period when Jews collaborated with the Hellenistic power (pp. 57–58). While an apocalyptic politics, because of its experience of uncontrollable situation, may not lead to a career of involvement in political processes, it does not mean that apocalypticists discard the world. Apocalypticists never abandoned their monistic view of the world, where one God reigns.

¹¹ For my theoretical discussion of space-time and power relations, see pages 8–11 of the previous chapter.

entire survey, I will show how the various interpretations operate with, are alert to, or consider irrelevant, the dichotomies of religion vs. politics and Jewish nation vs. the Roman Empire, and thus, how they contribute to the solution or complication of the problem.¹²

The timing of the Reign of God

Delay of the parousia

Conzelmann founds his thesis on redaction-critical analysis, showing how Luke removed from his sources the references concerning an imminent parousia. For example, observing the four passages that include the question concerning the time of the end (Luke 17:20; 19:11; 21:7; and Acts 1:6), Conzelmann maintains that three things are excluded: “apocalyptic calculations in general, the connection with the fate of Jerusalem, and calculations based on the Resurrection of Jesus.”¹³ He interprets these omissions as evidence of Luke’s theologizing the delay of the parousia. Comparing Luke 21 with Mark 13, Conzelmann maintains that, while Mark offers “a fuller descrip-

¹² In the first chapter of his published dissertation, John T. Carroll presents a fine and exhaustive survey of Lukan studies on “eschatology and situation in Luke-Acts,” mainly from Conzelmann and some of his antecedents. Carroll divides them into seven positions: (1) “un-eschatological Luke”: the *eschaton* recedes in time and in significance; (2) consistent imminent eschatology; (3) dichromatic approaches to Lukan eschatology: two-strand, two-document, and two-stage eschatologies; (4) approaches emphasizing the present fulfillment of eschatological hopes; (5) Lukan eschatology as correction of an over-realized eschatology; (6) approaches emphasizing the centrality of the ascension; and (7) approaches emphasizing individual eschatology. As Steven L. Bridge (*Where the Eagle are Gathered: The Deliverance of the Elect in Lukan Eschatology* [Sheffield: Academic Press, 2003], xv) says, since Carroll’s assessment, the direction of Lukan eschatology has remained almost unchanged. See John T. Carroll, *Response to the End of History: Eschatology and Situation in Luke-Acts* (Decatur, GA: Scholars, 1988) 1–36. Because my concern is the relationship between the Reign of God and Rome, this chapter of dissertation is focused on this thematic link. Despite its exhaustiveness, the seven categories in Carroll’s survey stay within the demarcation of Conzelmann, i.e., within eschatology disconnected from its situation of the Empire, focusing primarily on the theme, “delay of parousia.” This limitation is likely not only his specific concern but is evidence that Lukan scholars have hardly attempted to recover links between Luke’s eschatology and politics. For other surveys, see François Bovon, *Luke the Theologian: Thirty-three Years of Research (1950–1983)* (Tr. Ken McKinney; Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications, 1987), 1–77. In chapter one, Bovon introduces to the studies on “the plan of God, salvation history and eschatology” in Luke from 1948 to 1978. See also Maddox, *Purpose*, 100–157.

¹³ Conzelmann, *Theology*, 121.

tion of the eschatological events," Luke gives "a polemical excursus about matters which are mistakenly included among the eschatological events, namely the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple."¹⁴ In that way, he explains, "Luke puts historical events such as the destruction of Jerusalem in a historical setting; in other words, he deliberately removes them from the context of the End"¹⁵ so that Luke makes eschatology into salvation history.

While many scholars have accepted and developed Conzelmann's thesis that Luke relegates the parousia far into the future,¹⁶ others have pointed out that Conzelmann did not do justice to a large number of passages that carry the notion of imminent parousia but considered these passages as "tradition," included in Luke-Acts against the intention of the redactor. Conzelmann's redaction-critical study becomes especially problematic with the awakening of literary criticism. However, even before the literary critical approach gained currency

¹⁴ Ibid., 128.

¹⁵ Ibid., 113.

¹⁶ Erich Grässer extends (Carroll, *Response*, 4) Conzelmann's studies on two points: (1) he places the Lukan effort within the history of doctrines of early Christianity and (2) he pursues the analysis of Luke into the Acts (Bovon, *Luke the Theologian*, 15–16). See also Grässer's argumentations in his *Das Problem der Parusieverzögerung in den Synoptischen Evangelien und in der Apostelgeschichte* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977), which was originally presented as the author's thesis to Marburg in 1955; Idem, "Die Parusieerwartung in der Apostelgeschichte," in *Les Actes des Apôtres: Traditions, rédaction, théologie* (ed. Jacob Kremer; Gembloux: Duculot, 1979), 99–127; and most recently, Idem, *Forschungen zur Apostelgeschichte* (J.C.B. Mohr: Tübingen, 2001), 48–58. Ernst Haenchen also argues that Luke rejected the imminent expectation but chose a different course from that of the Gospel of John. "Instead, he took the chronological dimension, rendered meaningless in John, into serious consideration, and asked himself where and how God's work of salvation proceeds in time. He saw the history of salvation as a great unity which ended in the parousia." See Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles* (tr. B. Noble and G. Shinn; revised R. McL. Wilson; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971) 96. See also E. Käsemann, "The Problem of the Historical Jesus," in *Essays on New Testament Themes* (London: SCM, 1964) 15–47. Conzelmann's thesis is followed in some recent studies, too. Luke Timothy Johnson maintains that Luke is "relatively unconcerned about the end-time," and "his historical narrative bestows value on time itself." See Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke* (SPS 3; Collegeville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 21; Idem, "Luke-Acts, Book of," in *ABD* 4: 403–420. In their widely read introduction to the New Testament, Dennis C. Duling and Norman Perrin also argue that Luke-Acts wrestles with the delay of the parousia. They emphasize that the parousia is indefinitely postponed in Luke. Although Luke includes passages with the imminence motif, and the author even adds to them, they maintain that "these passages should be interpreted in relation to what is clearly Luke's more dominant view." See Duling and Perrin, *The New Testament: Proclamation and Parenthesis, Myth and History* (Forth Worth: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, c. 1994), 377–378.

among biblical scholars, Fred O. Francis denounced Conzelmann for shunting aside the passages that reflect another eschatological point of view, either by leaving them without any remark or by considering them to be insignificant remnants of earlier pre-Lukan tradition. Francis sought a model able to comprehend the Lukan material “more fully.”¹⁷ B.R. Gaventa and others also criticize Conzelmann for ignoring the infancy narratives (Luke 1–2). Gaventa points out that these narratives function as necessary parts to the whole narrative of Luke.¹⁸ Because Conzelmann justifies his analysis by identifying certain Lukan phrases as “sources,” this problem necessarily entails a methodological debate on the question what is truly “Lukan.” John T. Carroll emphasizes the probability that pre-Lukan traditions (redacted or not) can be a vehicle of Lukan perspective as much as any alterations to them. Thus, one should not too hastily conclude that Luke included traditions against his own views.¹⁹ Furthermore, redaction criticism does not hold up with regard to Acts and Luke 1–2, both of which lack reliably reconstructed sources. Therefore, Carroll suggests, “the literary function of a passage in the context of Luke-Acts as a whole” should govern the concerns of studies.²⁰

Among the oldest contenders with Conzelmann, Robert H. Smith points out that the former’s thesis on Luke’s de-eschatologization is “really destitute of evidence in the text.”²¹ Smith supports his criticism with passages that allude to the coming of the day of the Lord or the day of judgment (Acts 2:20; 3:20; Luke 21:26, 35; Acts 8:24; 13:40). For him, the theme of delay in Luke is due not to God’s “carelessness or slackness,” but resulted from the “patience and long-

¹⁷ Fred O. Francis, “Eschatology and History in Luke-Acts,” *JAAAR* 37 (1969): 50. Others suggest that the sources Luke used were already de-eschatologized. For example, W.C. Robinson, Jr., argues that John the Baptist and his messages were de-eschatologized before Luke utilized them. Thus, “Luke appears to be carrying forward emphases which were already in motion in his sources.” See Robinson, *The Way of the Lord: A Study of History and Eschatology in the Gospel of Luke* (Diss., University of Basel, 1962), 1–23. I.H. Marshall also argues, quoting Oscar Cullmann, that even the delay of the parousia and its place in the salvation history is not an innovation by Luke but belongs to earlier Christian thought. For him, the concept of salvation history is basic in New Testament. See I.H. Marshall, *Luke: Historian & Theologian* (Downer Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1988), 86–87.

¹⁸ B.R. Gaventa, “The Eschatology of Luke-Acts Revisited,” *Encounter* 43 (1982): 28–29.

¹⁹ Carroll, *Response*, 31.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 33.

²¹ Robert H. Smith, “History and Eschatology in Luke-Acts,” *CTM* 29 (1958): 895f.

suffering” with which God waits for human repentance (Acts 17:30). To undergird his position that the delay of the parousia did not necessarily undermine the Christian belief in the parousia, Smith quotes Henry J. Cadbury. “Finally the Christians themselves, for whom in the earliest days ‘Thy kingdom come’ and ‘Maranatha’ had been the watchwords, came in the time of Tertullian actually to pray in sheer altruism for the postponement of the end—*pro mora finis*.”²² Smith also draws on Ernst Haenchen to describe the poses of Stephen (Acts 7:55–56) and the disciples (Acts 1:10, 11) gazing into heaven as the expression of *Naherwartung*.²³ The depiction of the opened heavens (7:56) and the eschatological title “Son of Man standing at the right hand of God” also strongly insinuate an eschatological view. Paul’s preaching on the present tribulations and the following entry into the Reign of God (Acts 14:22) and the description of church’s tribulations following the martyrdom of Stephen (Acts 8:1, 4; 11:19; 13:51) indicate, in accordance with Jewish apocalypticism, that Luke believed the eschatological distress had already begun. With the Gospel freely proclaimed in Rome at the close of Acts, Jesus’ prophecy (Acts 1:8) is fulfilled and “the condition of the coming of the Kingdom set by Christ has been met.”²⁴ Smith concludes, “Far from relinquishing hope in a near end, Luke’s second volume seeks to nurture that hope.”²⁵

In an analysis of Luke-Acts texts that emphasizes four verses of Acts (10:42; 17:31; 24:15, 25), A.J. Mattill argues that the imminence rather than the delay of the parousia dominates Luke’s view.²⁶ Discussing a sentence in Peter’s preaching (Acts 10:42), where Jesus is described as “the one ordained by God to be judge of the living and the dead,” Mattill claims that Luke expected Jesus to return as king and judge “within the lifetime of that generation.”²⁷ Mattill supports Weymouth’s translation, which renders the verb μέλλω in three

²² Henry J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927), 296, quoted in Smith, “History,” 896.

²³ Smith, “History,” 895–896.

²⁴ Smith, “The Eschatology of Acts and Contemporary Exegesis,” *CTM* 29 (1958): 641–63.

²⁵ Smith, “History,” 898.

²⁶ A.J. Mattill, “*Naherwartung*, *Fernerwartung*, and the Purpose of Luke-Acts: Weymouth Reconsidered,” *CBQ* 34 (1972). See also *Luke and the Last Things: a perspective for the understanding of Lukan thought* (Dillsboro, N.C.: Western North Carolina, 1979).

²⁷ Mattill, *Last Things*, 41–42. The same interpretation is applied to other Lukan

other passages (Acts 17:31; 24:15, 25) as expressing *Naherwartung*. While most translations render the verb by the simple future, according to Waymouth, μέλλω in these passages anticipates the judgment “before long” or “which was soon to come.”²⁸ In several places, Mattill adopts Smith’s citations and interpretations. For example, Mattill maintains that in Acts 2:17 and 3:24, Luke situates himself in the last days prophesied by Joel and all the prophets, the days which come immediately before the Day of the Lord (2:20; 17:31). Like Smith, he maintains that in Acts, “all had taken place except the coming of the Lord to complete that which is already in being.”²⁹ Quoting C.H. Dodd, Mattill argues that “it was not an early advent that they proclaimed, but an immediate advent.”³⁰

Francis considers the quotation of the Joel prophecy (Acts 2:16ff.) as the starting point and normative interpretive key for the study of Lukan eschatology. Luke twice identifies the Pentecost events with Joel’s description of the last days (2:16, 33).³¹ From this interpretive perspective, the repeated occurrences of the Spirit throughout Acts can be read as “expressions of the eschatological character of life lived out in the Christian community before the day of the Lord comes.” Francis complains that “many modern interpreters attribute to Luke the very perspective Luke denies.” For example, Luke says one cannot know times or seasons (Acts 1:7) and warns that it cannot be said the master is delayed in coming (Luke 12:35–46), but Conzelmann argues that Luke worked out a “permanent solution” to the problem of eschatology by plotting out a long delay in his coming.³² Francis, in support of his own position, relates the Joel prophecy section to Luke 21, showing that the cosmic signs in the Joel quotations as recapitulating the prophesied destruction of Jerusalem in Joel 2:1–11. From this, Francis argues that “one cannot isolate the destruction of Jerusalem as only a historical event.”³³ For Francis, “eschatological existence in Luke-Acts is a present whose consum-

passages concerning that generation: Luke 9:27; 11:50–51; 12:56; 13:4–5, 9; 21:32; Acts 2:17; 3:24; 13:4 (p. 277).

²⁸ Mattill, “Naherwartung,” 278–285.

²⁹ Ibid., 286.

³⁰ C.H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Development* (New York: Harper & Row, 1936[1964]), 32–35, quoted in Mattill, “Naherwartung,” 285.

³¹ Francis, “Eschatology,” 51.

³² Ibid., 55.

³³ Ibid., 56. Francis adds that some Midrashic literatures employ Joel to interpret the destruction of Jerusalem.

mation comes 'speedily' but 'not immediately',³⁴ and "the cosmic upheaval is all that remains beyond the time of Luke's writing."³⁵

Recently, treating "four crucial eschatological texts" (Luke 17:20–37; 19:11–27; 21:7–36; Acts 1:6–8), Vittorio Fusco observes that, in all four, the hope of a prompt coming of the parousia at the moment of writing is rejected. However, he emphasizes, this rejection is not done only in a negative way, reassessing the unpredictability of the end, "but also in a positive way, explaining that the delay is due to certain events which should have occurred before." Fusco continues that these events are, first the passion (Luke 17:25), then a time of absence of the Lord after his ascension (Luke 19:11–28), during which the fall of Jerusalem is followed by the "times of the Gentiles" (Luke 21:24b), and the witness to the end of the earth (Acts 1:8).³⁶ Robert Tannehil has emphasized a Lukan hope for the victorious return of Jesus in the near future. Explaining Luke 18:8, he points out that the experience of delay has not caused the postponement of hope to the distant future, but "the early churches believed that faithfulness and endurance were required now because at any time the returning Lord could break into their lives and demand an accounting."³⁷ John Nolland also argues that Luke preserved the expectation of "the parousia within his own generation." He confronts Conzelmann's understanding that the early church experienced the delay of the parousia as a crisis. While Nolland acknowledges that delay was an indisputable fact, he argues that "parousia-delay crisis is actually hard to find."³⁸ François Bovon is also among those who take on Conzelmann's assumption. Bovon makes it clear that "Luke is not precisely the one who, on his own, intends to overcome the traditional apocalyptic eschatological expectations with a

³⁴ Ibid., 58–59.

³⁵ Ibid., 58 note 42.

Concerning the arguments emphasizing the imminent motif, see also Richard H. Hier, "The Problem of the Delay of the Parousia in Luke-Acts," *NTS* 20 (1974): 145–55; Idem, "Eschatology and Methodology," *JBL* 85 (1966): 170–84; and Eric Franklin, *Christ the Lord: A Study in the Purpose and Theology of Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975).

³⁶ Vittorio Fusco, "'Point of View' and 'Implicit Reader' in Two Eschatological Text (Lk 19:11–28; Acts 1:6–8)," in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. F. Van Segbroeck; Leuven: University Press, 1992), 1677–1680.

³⁷ Robert C. Tannehil, *Luke* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1996), 265.

³⁸ John Nolland, "Salvation History and Eschatology," in *Witness to the Gospel: the Theology of Acts* (eds. I. Howard Marshall and David Peterson; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 65.

salvation-historical perspective conceived by himself.”³⁹ Despite Conzelmann’s ongoing influence on Lukan studies, his thesis on parousia delay in Luke is not simply followed in recent scholarship.

Luke’s theological situation

Although many scholars, including those already discussed, try to show the importance of the imminence of the parousia in Luke, many of the same scholars do not wholesale reject the existence of the delay motif in the Gospel and Acts. They attempt to explain the delay motif (and the imminence motif) in ways that differ from Conzelmann who argues parousia delay as the major problematic force Luke needed to face and theologize. For example, Cadbury proposes that Luke was facing an “over-expectant attitude” and sought to contest that attitude by emphasizing that the delay was to be expected.”⁴⁰ E. Earle Ellis also suggests that “an overeager or false anticipation of the parousia” was an assumption Luke was attempting to counter. Ellis contends that the delay motif “in any case could hardly have originated as a solution inspired by embarrassment or disappointment about Jesus’ continued absence,” because the motif had already appeared before there was time to get embarrassed.⁴¹ Therefore, Ellis argues, Luke employed the delay theme to counter contemporary trends of excessive expectation.

For Charles Talbert, it was the “spiritualized, entirely realized eschatology” widespread in the Church⁴² that Luke was trying to combat. He argues that Luke 19:11 shows that the community was agitated, not by the problem of the delay of parousia, but by an erroneous identification of Jesus’ ἀνάληψις in Jerusalem and the coming of the Reign of God,⁴³ an identification Talbert attributes to the pressure of heresy in the Lukan community.⁴⁴ Talbert also rejects

³⁹ François Bovon, *Luke 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1–9:50* (tr. Christine M. Thomas; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 11.

⁴⁰ H.J. Cadbury, “Acts and Eschatology,” in *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology* (ed. W.D. Davies and D. Daube; Cambridge: University Press, 1964), 300–321. See also Smith, “Contemporary,” 663.

⁴¹ E. Earle Ellis, *Eschatology in Luke* (Philadelphia, Fortress, 1972), 18.

⁴² C.H. Talbert, “The Redaction Critical Quest for Luke the Theologian,” in *Jesus and Man’s Hope*, vol. 1 (ed. David. G. Buttrick; Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, 1970–1971), 192.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 213. See also Talbert, *Luke and the Gnostics* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1966), 15. C.K. Barrett and Hans-Werner Bartsch also find the situation of Luke to be

the identification of Pentecost (Acts 2) with parousia, because the situation described in Acts 2:2–3 does not coincide with the nature of Christ's return in Acts 1:10–11.⁴⁵ In an article launched to present "an alternative picture of the Lukan theological perspective to that proposed by Conzelmann," Talbert maintains that the series of events described in Luke 21—testimony, political upheavals, cosmic disturbances—are "eschatological phenomena leading to the End." If Luke stands after 70 CE and the destruction of the temple, then "all that remains in the apocalyptic timetable before the End are the cosmic turbulences."⁴⁶

S.G. Wilson gives equal weight to both the delay and the imminence strands in Luke's eschatology.⁴⁷ He tries to explain the co-existence of the two strands as a peculiar aspect of Luke's pastoral situation. Wilson suggests that Luke's church was faced simultaneously with a "fervent renewal of Apocalypticism" and with an "outright denial of that hope, which can lead to loss of faith and lax morality." While Luke was struggling with the first view in "the delay strand of his eschatology" (particularly in Acts 1:6–8; Luke 9:27; 17:20ff; 19:11; 21:7, 8, 20–24),⁴⁸ the imminent strand of eschatology (Luke 18:1–8, 12:38f.; 21:36; 10:9–11, etc.) was a reaction to the denial of the hope.⁴⁹ Wilson makes a distinction between Luke and Acts. While the tension between delay and imminent expectation is found in the Gospel, Acts no longer conveys a theme of imminent

influenced by Gnosticism. Barch proposes that the Gospel of Luke was the result of struggles with Gnostic thought that confused Jesus' resurrection and ascension with the event of the parousia. See Barch, *Wachet aber zu jeder Zeit: Entwurf einer Auslegung des Lukasevangeliums* (Hamburg-Bergstedt: Herbert Reich, 1963). See also Barch, "Early Christian Eschatology in the Synoptic Gospels," *NTS* 11 (1964–65): 387–397; C.K. Barrett, *Luke the Historian in Recent Study* (A.S. Peake Memorial Lecture; London: The Epworth Press, 1961).

⁴⁵ C.H. Talbert, "The Redaction," 176.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 183–184.

⁴⁷ One strand definitely allows for a delay in the parousia (Luke 22:69; 19:11; 9:27; 19:41f.; 12:49–50; 16:1–13; 21:7, 8, 12, 19), but the other, with equal firmness, asserts that the end will come soon (Luke 18:8; 10:9, 11; 12:38–40, 41–48; 12:54–13:9; 21:32). S.G. Wilson, "Lukan Eschatology," *NTS* 15 (1969–1970): 336–344. See also his *The Gentile and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts* (Cambridge: University, 1973) 59–87; and "The Ascension: A Critique and Interpretation," *ZNW* 59 (1968): 269–81.

⁴⁸ Wilson adds that some other delay materials like Luke 22:69 ("But from now on, the Son of Man will be seated at the right hand of the power of God.") are due to a simple realization that the Kingdom had not come but instead the time of the Church under its exalted Lord. See his "Lukan Eschatology," 336–340.

⁴⁹ Wilson, "Lukan Eschatology," 345–346.

expectation. Wilson uses this difference as evidence to suggest that Luke composed Acts a considerable time after the Gospel, and that in the interim period, his views developed and changed.⁵⁰

Joseph Fitzmyer emphasizes the importance of the practical purpose of Luke. Both extending and contending with Wilson's interpretation, Fitzmyer argues that the double attitude represented by the "two-pronged set of statements" in Luke was not necessarily all of Luke's own making but part of a pre-Lukan tradition.⁵¹ For Fitzmyer, Luke did not simply de-eschatologize the kerygma, but rather chose to retain some traditional references to an imminent coming because he was aware of the importance of such references in the tradition.⁵² Luke's own emphasis on the length of the interval between the Period of Jesus and the parousia is a purposeful strategy that shifts the emphasis in many of Jesus' sayings "from the *eschaton* to the *semeron* to show that they are still valid guides for conduct in his generation." Fitzmyer continues:

This subtle shift directs Christian attention from the following of Christ in view of an imminent reckoning to an understanding of Jesus' conduct as an inspiration and guide for Christian life in the Period of *ecclesia pressa*, the church under stress. Admittedly, Luke has thus dulled the eschatological edge of some of the sayings of Jesus to make of them a hortatory device for everyday Christian living.⁵³

John T. Carroll suggests another way to understand the double themes of Luke, Wilson's "two-front, pastoral description of Luke's situation and strategy."⁵⁴ Distinguishing the purposes of Luke's narrative construction from his social situation, Carroll argues that Luke

⁵⁰ Ibid., 347.

⁵¹ Joseph Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (2 vols.; AB 28; Garden City: Doubleday, 1981).

⁵² Ibid., 235.

⁵³ Ibid., 234.

⁵⁴ Carroll, *Response*, 13–16. In a similar vein, B.R. Gaventa, "The Eschatology," 39, on the one hand imagines "a community in which the eschatological hope waned" from the description in Acts 1:11. On the other, she suggests that Acts 1:6–7 may address "those who eagerly speculate about the time of the parousia (cf. Luke 17:20–31; 19:11; 21:7). She concludes: "Late in the first century either response would be understandable, and it may even be, as Wilson has argued, that Luke had both in mind." J. Ernst also follows the two-front hypothesis of Wilson at one point. Ernst suggests that Luke refuted both exclusively future oriented preaching, "stubborn apocalyptic enthusiasm," and realized eschatology that expected nothing further from the future. J. Ernst, *Herr der Geschichte: Perspektiven der lukanischen Eschatologie* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1978) 48, quoted in Carroll, *Response*, 16.

“wrote in a setting in which parousia delay and a period of world-wide mission were data of history.” In this context, in order for Luke to maintain parousia hope as a credible position, he needed to show that imminent expectation was “inappropriate during the ministry of Jesus, the early years of the church’ mission, and at the destruction of Jerusalem (hence the element of delay).” Carroll maintains, therefore, “the prominence of delay in Luke-Acts does not . . . rule out imminent hope in Luke’s own time.”⁵⁵ Although Carroll approaches a literary-critical method by emphasizing “the literary function of a passage in the context of Luke-Acts as a whole,” he is still in accord with Conzelmann’s presupposition that Luke wrote a history. Furthermore, Carroll’s research on “Luke’s situation,” along with that of the others so far discussed, considers neither the reality of the Empire Luke faces nor the effect of the imminent hope upon Luke’s view of the Empire.

This brief survey of Lukan studies reaffirms the disagreement among the scholars. A handful of conclusions attainable from the survey include the view that Luke’s eschatology is a mixture of a very near end (Luke 18:7–8; 21:31–32) and the delay of the parousia (Luke 12:45; 19:11). The theme “delay of the parousia” in Luke is generally acknowledged, but other motives, including the imminence of the parousia, are also widely observed. While there is no consensus among scholars concerning the significance of the delay motif in Luke’s theology and how to explain the coexistence of the two motifs, imminence and delay, it seems clear that Luke’s presentation of the timing of the parousia is more varied and complex than Conzelmann suggests. As Joel Green points out, Luke’s eschatology resists oversimplification,⁵⁶ and Conzelmann’s temporal harboring of Luke’s Reign of God is hardly able to sustain itself, because the delay of parousia cannot be proven as the dominant motif in Luke. If the imminent reordering of worldly power remains as a plausible destiny of history, the alleged concession of this world to Rome can hardly be the central theological imperative for Luke.

⁵⁵ Carroll, *Response*, 36.

⁵⁶ Joel B. Green, *The Theology of the Gospel of Luke* (Cambridge: University Press, 1995), 98.

The salvation history: continuity or discontinuity

For Conzelmann, Luke's de-eschatological shift results in a salvation history in which a threefold structure of historical perspective replaces the twofold structure of apocalyptic eschatology. The initial period, the period of Israel, precedes both the times of Jesus and the Church; Jesus' life and ministry constitute the second period; and, Luke's own time makes up the last period of the three-stage salvation history. Luke is a historian in the sense that Luke describes the time of Jesus as "the past," as distinguished from his own time.⁵⁷ Luke does "not simply project present questions back into the time of Jesus," but separates the time of Jesus, "the *arché* of the Church," from Luke's own period, the time of the Church. In making this distinction, Conzelmann argues that Luke brings out "the peculiar character of each period."⁵⁸ Furthermore, by recognizing the period of Jesus as an "authentic manifestation of salvation," the Church is enabled to understand its present existence and thereby can project an understanding of its future existence.⁵⁹ Consequently, Luke's own time is given unique value as an independent period of history. It is not just a transitional stage into the parousia.

I do not treat the issues concerning the periodization of the salvation history in detail, because such considerations are mostly beyond my focus on the end-time coming of Reign of God. However, one aspect is pertinent to my project: the place of the destruction of Jerusalem (Luke 21:20–24) and Jesus' passion (Luke 22–23) in the

⁵⁷ I do not mean to set up a contrast between a historian and theologian here. Accurately speaking, what Conzelmann intends may be a "theological historian." This does not mean that Luke-Acts carries a reliable history of Jesus and the first Church. Conzelmann explains his definition of Luke as a historian in the following: "Modern research concerns itself essentially with the reliability of his reporting, but if we are interested in the first place not in what is reported, but in the report as such, the problem takes a different form: what is Luke's conception of the meaning of his account?" See Conzelmann, *Theology*, 12. Concerning Luke's "theologically determined" history, see Jacob Jervell, "The Future of the past: Luke's vision of salvation history and its bearing on his writing of history," in *History, Literature, and Society in the Book of Acts* (ed. Ben Witherington, III; Cambridge: University Press, 1996) 104–126. Concerning "the shift from Luke the historian to Luke the theologian" in Conzelmann's work, which was rooted in Bultmann's *Theology of the New Testament*, see also C.H. Talbert's description in "Shifting Sands: The Recent Study of the Gospel of Luke," *Interpretation* 30.4 (1976): 381–395.

⁵⁸ Conzelmann argues, "In order to be able to set out clearly in the person of Jesus a salvation which is timeless, his period must be distinguished from the present period." *Theology*, 13.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 14.

salvation history. The relation of these events to processes of periodization are important, because these events are included in the passages through which this study finds its focus (Luke 19:45–23:56). While Conzelmann emphasizes the distance between Luke's time and the past of Jesus, times which correspond to Conzelmann's second and third periods in the salvation history, Jesus in the passion narrative is described as the model of the audiences who are under current persecution. While Conzelmann differentiates the fall of Jerusalem as history from the end of the world, I will show in the following chapters of the book that Luke understands the 70 CE event as belonging to the penultimate period, an event which is not only a sign of the end but also the commencement of the eschatological process.

The place of Jesus' passion in the salvation history is related to the debate concerning the demarcation between the second and the third periods. Conzelmann is not clear about where the third period begins, whether it is at the "return of Satan" (22:3)⁶⁰ or at the Ascension.⁶¹ This confusion occurs probably because he also acknowledges that Luke does not describe Jesus' passion simply as a historical past but existentially identifies it with his own situation. Conzelmann emphasizes that Luke and his church find similarities between their own situation of persecution and Jesus' suffering. Conzelmann argues that "your hour" (Luke 22:53), which marks the beginning of a series of passion events leading to the crucifixion in Lukan narrative, "contains an allusion to the situation of the Church." Also, for Luke and his Church, Jesus at the Mount of Olives, "the martyr facing the decision as to whether he should accept martyrdom," is the representative of martyrs.⁶²

⁶⁰ Conzelmann, *Theology*, 80. For the criticism against Conzelmann's isolation of the "Satan-free" period in the ministry of Jesus, see I.H. Marshall, *Luke*, 87–88. Marshall argues that Luke 11:16 with its reference to temptation, though there is no explicit reference to Satan, implies the activity of Satan in the temptation. See also W.D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine* (Berkeley, Ca.: University of California Press, 1974), 250. For further discussion concerning the significance of the "return of Satan," see pages 158–161. Marshall argues that "not salvation-history but salvation itself manifested by the person of Jesus is the theme which occupied the mind of Luke." He bases his argument on linguistic observation of the cognate words "to save," "Savior," and "salvation," and quotes van Unnik and E.M.B. Green. See Marshall, *Gospel*, 92–94.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 83.

Instead of Conzelmann's threefold structure, François Bovon proposes a new analysis of Luke's structure that consists of two serial eras: "the time of prophecy and the time of fulfillment."

The time of fulfillment is again divided into the time of Jesus and the time of his witnesses, and the latter again can be differentiated into the time of the eyewitnesses and the time after that, including the Lukan generation (Luke 1:1–4). At every point of transition from one era to the next, God provides individuals who maintain the necessary continuity; this is especially evident in the case of John the Baptist.⁶³

For Bovon, the break at the Ascension is problematic,⁶⁴ because Luke 16:16 ("The law and the prophets were until John; since then the good news of the Reign of God is proclaimed."), which is the cornerstone of Conzelmann's salvation history, refers only two periods: "the time of promise and that of accomplishment." More important than that break is "a unique quality which links Jesus' time with the time of the Church: the Gospel is proclaimed and salvation is present." In this view, Luke's emphasis is on "the opposition between the old and the new covenant."⁶⁵

E. Earle Ellis can be included among those scholars who prioritize the continuity between the times of Jesus and of the Church. Ellis argues that Luke incorporated the "twofold eschatology of apocalyptic Judaism, that is, blessing and judgment, into a two-stage eschatology. . . . The Spirit's activity in and through Jesus brings eschatological blessings of the coming age now, but the judgment and the consummation of the kingdom are deferred."⁶⁶ For Ellis, the person and mission of Jesus define the nature of continuity and discontinuity between the present age and the age to come. In this scheme, the fate of Jesus is identified with the fate of the disciple, who also must go "through many tribulations" and "lose his life" if the disciple, like Jesus, is to become a "son of the resurrection."⁶⁷

⁶³ Bovon, *Commentary*, 11. For his further developments on salvation history and prophecy, see also his *New Testament Traditions and Apocryphal Narratives* (trans. Jane Haapiseva-Hunter; Allison Park, Penn.: Pickwick Publications, 1995), 97–104.

⁶⁴ François Bovon, *Luke the Theologian: Thirty-three Years of Research (1950–1983)* (Tr. Ken McKinney; Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications, 1987), 27. Bovon introduces his readers to some scholars who have criticized the break at the Ascension, including O. Culmann, W.C. van Unnik, I.H. Marshall, S.G. Wilson, C. Buchard, J. Kodell, G. Lohfink, J. Panagopoulos, and W.G. Kümmell.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Ellis, *Eschatology*, 13.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 14.

Thus, the followers of Jesus “not only manifest the same *eschatological powers of the Spirit* as he does, but they also have a *corporate identification with the (risen) Lord*.”⁶⁸

As I have discussed, a notion of continuity rather than discontinuity between Jesus’ ministry and the Church fits with the accounts of Luke-Acts. Luke prefers to identify the fate of his contemporary Christians with that of Jesus rather than to separate them by historicizing the time of Jesus.⁶⁹ Rather than Conzelmann’s three-fold structure, Bovon, Ellis and Robinson maintain that Luke can be better understood from the perspective of a two-stage eschatology, which draws on a two-fold eschatology of apocalypticism. In following two chapters of the book, through an analysis of Luke’s space-time, especially the temple and the city of Jerusalem in relation to his eschatology (Luke 19:45–23:56), I will explore how Luke incorporates, rather than historically separates, his account of Jesus’ ministry into his own context. My textual analysis of Jesus’ end-time discourse (Luke 21:5–36) shows that Luke is not as de-apocalypticized as Conzelmann argues.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 20. Italic is the author’s. Robinson (*The Way of the Lord*, 25–42) also disagrees with Conzelmann’s three-fold structure. He points out that Conzelmann is inconsistent as to the three divisions in Jesus’ life and salvation history, especially Conzelmann’s analysis of the structural marks between the second and the third epochs. Robinson supports a two-fold arrangement of Jesus’ ministry and salvation history in Luke, in which “the legitimacy of the apostolic church was based within the period of Jesus’ ministry.”

⁶⁹ One extremely important link that stimulates the Jesus’ followers to identify their personal fate with that of Jesus is the narrated reality of persecution. Conzelmann, *Theology*, 127, 128, 132, acknowledges that the (implied) audiences of Luke are under persecution, and that Luke’s “ethical teaching is colored by the fact that persecution now prevails.” Luke carries exhortations to adjust to “a long period of persecution” (ch. 17; 18:1; ch. 21), in which the virtue of endurance is foregrounded. “Endurance is viewed from the standpoint of martyrdom,” Conzelmann suggests, “although the specific terminology of martyrdom has not yet been developed” (132). Nevertheless, in Conzelmann’s construction, Luke holds himself surprisingly aloof from the situation and reality of persecution. Facing the tyranny of Jewish and Roman authorities (Luke 12:11; 21:12), Conzelmann assumes, Luke does not attempt to console his readers by identifying their situation with Jesus’ own but rather disinterestedly historicizes the time of Jesus as a time of peace. Nor does Conzelmann’s Luke encourage those who are persecuted by citing hope for the imminent parousia. Luke is satisfied with being a martyr and exhorts his readers to be so. See his *Theology*, 209–210. For Conzelmann, such a total abandonment of eschatological hope occurred in no more than ten to twenty years after the fall of Jerusalem. However, as Smith emphasizes, such hope did not perish in the time of Tertullian (160–d. after 220), and remains vivid even now, two thousand years after Jesus.

The space of the Reign of God

From the apocalyptic view pervasive among the followers of Jesus and in the tradition Luke inherited, the rule of God provided an alternative to the Empire.⁷⁰ To move from this perspective to making the two rules compatible with each other, Conzelmann not only argues that Luke relegated the parousia to far away in time but also implies that Luke relocated the Reign of God from this world to a transcendent space. For him, Jesus' kingship is transcendental,⁷¹ and the End is rendered as an individual dimension and destination: "The general version of the future hope as the hope of individual resurrection" takes the place of "the collective, cosmic early expectation of the first days of the Church."⁷²

While he critiques the "spiritualizing interpretation," which emphasizes the present fulfillment of eschatological hope through the Holy Spirit and in the Church,⁷³ Conzelmann himself argues for the transcendent nature of the Reign of God. To explain away the imminence motif from certain passages in Luke, for instance, from Jesus' prediction that some among those who stand around him will not die before they see the Reign of God (9:27), Conzelmann argues, "the idea of the coming of the Kingdom is replaced by a timeless conception of it."⁷⁴ He also argues that, by setting historical events such as the fall of Jerusalem into an ongoing history, in other words, by deliberately disconnecting these events from the context of the End, the Reign of God is "removed into the metaphysical realm."⁷⁵ For him, the distinction between "history" and "the end" is not only temporal but also spatial. Although Conzelmann criticizes "spiritu-

⁷⁰ Conzelmann acknowledges that, in Jewish apocalypticism, "it was felt that the State had to be withstood." See his *Theology*, 138.

⁷¹ Conzelmann, *Theology*, 86.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 110.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 122. Maddox is one of those who emphasizes the place and role of the Spirit. He argues that the coming of the Holy Spirit upon the disciples of Jesus at Pentecost (Acts 2:17–21) is clearly an "eschatological" event in Acts. The phrase "in the last days" that Luke substitutes for "after these things" drawn from the LXX version of Joel places far greater emphasis on "the expected new age, the age when the fulfillment of God's promise is actually experienced, has already arrived." This is a different notion of eschatology from that of an imminent consummation in which "there are not many days to run before it comes." See his *Purpose*, 137–138.

⁷⁴ Conzelmann, *Theology*, 104.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 113.

alizing" interpretations because of their realized eschatology, his concept of the Reign of God, placed far into a transcendent future is also spiritual and metaphysical.

From horizontal to vertical categories

Consequently, Conzelmann prepared the way for subsequent studies on Luke's eschatology that have made "a shift from horizontal, apocalyptic categories—this age/age to come—to vertical, Platonic categories—earth/heaven or time/eternity." As Ellis contends, quoting Helmut Flender, "by this shift the consummation of salvation is removed from the temporal future to a timeless sphere."⁷⁶ Flender renders a "vertical" nature to Luke's eschatology by making the exaltation of Jesus the decisive event.⁷⁷ He argues that Luke synthesized a dialectical tension between Paul's theology of redemptive history, in which "the continuation of history is meaningless because the new aeon has begun and the end of the world is imminent," and the "individualistic propensities of the Johanine tradition."⁷⁸ While in Paul the temporal shift of aeons is inaugurated with the resurrection of Christians, Flender argues that the Lukan shift happens spatially "from this world into the celestial world which exists concurrently."⁷⁹ From Luke's use of the image from Daniel 7:13 in describing Jesus' ascension (Acts 1:9ff.), Flender argues that the exaltation and parousia were roughly equated in early Christian thought. In order to establish his vertical or spatial eschatology, Flender claims that Daniel 7:13 "says nothing about the Son of Man coming to earth, but speaks of his enthronement in heaven. . . . The parousia is the manifestation on earth of the Lordship into which Jesus has entered in heaven."⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Ellis, *Eschatology*, 5.

⁷⁷ H. Flender, *St. Luke: Theologian of Redemptive History* (trans. Reginald. H. and Ilse Fuller; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967), 91–106.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 164–165.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 93–94. Eric Franklin also argues that for Luke the ascension becomes "Jesus' entry into his full authority." From the ascension, he maintains, "the eschatological promise of the angelic salutation to Mary (Luke 32–33) and of the song of the angels at Jesus' birth (Luke 2:14) is realized." Eric Franklin, "The Ascension and the Eschatology of Luke-Acts," *SJT* 23 (1970) 191–200. See also his *Christ the Lord: A Study in the Purpose and Theology of Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1975); and E. Grässer, "Parusieerwartung," 115–116. For a recent study of Jesus' ascension in relation to eschatology, see A.W. Zwiep, *The Ascension of the Messiah in Lukan*

C.K. Barrett,⁸¹ J. Dupont,⁸² and G. Schneider⁸³ join the ranks of scholars who follow the shift from horizontal to vertical categories in Luke, arguing that Luke considers the individual Christian death, that is, one's transfer to the spiritual realm at his or her individual death, as a true End. Although there are differences of nuance between and among the vertical-shift scholars, by decreasing the importance of the cosmic parousia in Luke and by emphasizing spiritual individuality rather than physical collectivity, those scholars who emphasize the vertical or spatial shift have widened the rift between eschatology and politics that Conzelmann systemically inaugurated.⁸⁴

Spiritualized/individualized/realized and/or cosmic/collective/futuristic

Without inclining to a fully "realized eschatology," an idea which may be found in the Gospel of John, Cadbury argues that "Luke on the whole has more to say about recent or present fulfillment of past prophecy than about present adumbrations of future expectation."⁸⁵ While sharing the observation of delay motif and the futurity of the parousia in Luke with Conzelmann, Cadbury suggests that Luke's acceptance of the delay does not weaken the hope of the parousia but rather strengthens its assurance.⁸⁶ Furthermore, while he agrees with Conzelmann that Luke does not advocate the imminence and urgency of eschatological hope by vivid apocalyptic details,

Christology (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 175–185. Zwiep argues that Luke makes a double connection: he connects Jesus' ascension with his parousia, on the one hand, and with the outpouring of the Spirit upon the disciples, on the other.

⁸¹ C. Kingsley Barrett, "Stephen and the Son of Man," in *Apophoreta: Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen, zu seinem Siebzigsten Geburtstag, am 10. Dezember 1964* (ed. Ernst Haenchen; Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1964), 32–38.

⁸² J. Dupont, "Individuelle Eschatologie," in *Orientierung an Jesus* (ed. P. Hoffmann; Freiburg: Herder, 1973) 37–47.

⁸³ G. Schneider, *Parusiegleichnisse im Lukas-Evangelium* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1975), 78–98; "Parousia and Parousia-Expectation" in *Die Apostelgeschichte 1* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1980–1982), 336–39; "Anbruch des Heils und Hoffnung auf Vollendung bei Jesus, Paulus und Lukas," in *Lukas, Theologe der Heilsgeschichte: Aufsätze zum lukanischen Doppelwerk* (Boston: Peter Hanstein, 1985) 35–60, esp. 51–56.

⁸⁴ See also Ellis and J. Ernst, who emphasize the collective unity of Christians with Jesus. Ellis, *Eschatology*, 11–15; "Present and Future Eschatology in Luke," *NTS* 12 (1965–1966): 33; J. Ernst, *Herr der Geschichte: Perspektiven der lukanischen Eschatologie* (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1978).

⁸⁵ Cadbury, "Acts and Eschatology," in *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology* (ed. W.D. Davies and D. Daube; Cambridge: University Press, 1964) 300–321. See also Smith, "Contemporary," 315.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 320–321.

Cadbury argues that Luke does not “spiritualize away” the concrete hope. Cadbury continues:

... Nor does this emphasis [on discouraging too early of an expectation] mean that the event when it came would be any less definite and literal, or that it was to be anticipated in any partial way and was therefore less important. We can receive now the Spirit which is its earnest. But the thing itself is a separate event, sudden and universal (Luke 21:34–36). In the light of Luke’s whole treatment of the other phenomenon . . . there is little reason to suppose that he would blur the concreteness of the other events or series of events to which Jews and Christians looked forward. Neither did the earthly life of Jesus fulfill the ultimate hopes of Luke’s canticles, nor did the experience of the Church reduce at all the unfinished purpose of God in Christ.⁸⁷

Carroll, likewise, concludes his dissertation by indicating that the *eschaton* is neither “swallowed up in the *sémeron* nor reduced to the future of individual believers” but it is collective, cosmic, and futuristic.⁸⁸ Bovon, concluding his survey of Lukan studies on eschatology and salvation history, also argues that the eschatological events in Luke “happen in space and time.”⁸⁹ He emphasizes, “Luke thinks that the end of history will be marked by a divine intervention of another type: a direct sort, ‘in power,’ where God triumphs.”⁹⁰ However, Bovon disconnects the intervention of God from its influence upon the reality of the Empire: “Different from the apocalypticians, he does not dream of the destiny of the empires.”⁹¹ Bovon’s separation of the end of history from the destiny of the Empire is strange, because elsewhere he highlights the apocalyptic aspects in Luke.⁹² In addition, discussing the significance of Luke’s universalism, Bovon acknowledges the political outcome of Luke’s idea:

“The Lucan claim to reach all nations was an implicit polemic against Roman imperialism, much more discreet than the anti-Roman position of John’s Revelation, but perceptible nevertheless. In this case, Luke’s work would be a supplementary witness of the Eastern and Greek opposition to Rome analyzed by Herald Fuchs.”⁹³

⁸⁷ Ibid., 316.

⁸⁸ Carroll, *Response*, 167.

⁸⁹ Bovon, *Luke the Theologian*, 74.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 76.

⁹¹ Ibid., 74.

⁹² Bovon, *Commentary*, 11.

⁹³ Bovon, *New Testament Traditions*, 84.

Green presents a more holistic observation concerning the nature of the end Luke portrays. For him, Luke's eschatology is not only variegated through time but also wide-ranging in the extent of its salvation: "spiritual, material, social, and political deliverance is promised, including the restoration of Israel." Green maintains that one of the most astounding images of the end in Luke is "the consummation of the inversion of status and values propagated by Jesus throughout his ministry in the Third Gospel (12:35–38)." He explains that "this Lukan emphasis is not made at the expense of the motif of judgment, anticipated by John (3:16–17) and furthered by Jesus (e.g., 12:46, 48; 17:28–30; 19:27)."⁹⁴ Extending Green's position, my textual analysis of the end-time discourse (Luke 21:5–36) will show that the Reign of God Luke envisions is neither removed so far away in the future as Conzelmann claims nor transferred to a metaphysical realm. The coming of the Son of Man will convey a reordering of power on this earth. While it is a judgment upon certain groups of people, namely the persecutors, for the followers of Jesus the same event arrives as redemption. This dual nature of the end calls for re-exploring Luke's view both of the Roman Empire and of the Jerusalem leadership in relation to his eschatology.

Power relations with the Roman Empire and with the Jewish leadership

Removed from the material world both in time and in space, for Conzelmann, the Reign of God is prepared to come to terms with the Roman Empire. He maintains that this relationship between the Reign of God and the world was not at first apparent because of the belief that the end was imminent.⁹⁵ Responding to the changed situation, the delay of the parousia, Conzelmann's Luke develops a "political apologetic" by which Luke appeals to Roman officials, claiming that the Church is both innocuous and loyal to the Empire (*apologia pro ecclesia*).⁹⁶ While a majority of Lukan scholars consent to

⁹⁴ Green, *Theology*, 99–100.

⁹⁵ Conzelmann, *Theology*, 137.

⁹⁶ Conzelmann was not the first who presented this kind of thesis. Paul Walaskay quotes C.A. Heumann, who already in the eighteenth century argued that Luke and Acts had been presented to a Roman magistrate named Theophilus "as an apology for the Christian religion." C.A. Heumann, "Dissertatio de Theophilo, cui Lucas historiam sacram inscript," *Bibliotheca Historico-Philologico-Theologica*, Class. IV (Bremen, 1720), 483–505, quoted by Ward Gasque, *A History of the Criticism of*

Conzelmann's underlying argument of Luke's pro-Roman stance, mostly by silence or by supporting with their own argumentation, there are some modifications and refutations of his thesis. After an overview of Conzelmann's position, I summarize two positions among subsequent scholars, with particular emphasis on the proposals of Paul W. Walaskay and Richard Cassidy. Walaskay complements and strengthens Conzelmann's pro-Roman presentation of Luke, turning the political apologetic theory upside down to argue that Luke-Acts is an apology for the sake of the Empire addressed to the church (*apologia pro imperio*). Cassidy critiques not only both Conzelmann and Walaskay's apologetic theories but also counters the very idea that Luke is pro-Roman. For Cassidy, Luke does not present Jesus and his followers as harmless to the Empire, but rather they are displayed as contravening the existing social patterns, norms of benefit to and maintained by the Romans.⁹⁷

Political apology for the church towards Rome (Conzelmann)

For Conzelmann, the Church's harmlessness is demonstrated by Luke's "apolitical" descriptions of Jesus and of those who surround him: John the Baptist being imprisoned for a non-political reason (Luke 3:19), the messianic program describing Jesus as a non-political character (Luke 4:18ff.), the cheer of Davidic Lordship being replaced

the Acts of the Apostles (Tübingen: Mohr, 1975), 21–22. See Walaskay, *And So We Came to Rome: The Political Perspective of St Luke* (Cambridge: University Press, 1983), ix, 15.

⁹⁷ Various theses have been presented that embrace the basic idea that Luke is pro-Roman, including variations of *religio licita* theory and the "legitimation" theory (Philip Esler). Therefore, treating only two scholars among them—Conzelmann and Walaskay—could be unfair to this position. However, because my project does not seek an elaboration of this idea but to problematize the very presumption that Luke is pro-Roman, I do not delve into the details of the way the pro-Roman thesis is presented. For a more exhaustive survey, see Steve Walton, "The State They Were in: Luke's View of the Roman Empire," in *Rome in the Bible and in the Early Church* (ed. Peter Oakes; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2002), 1–12, 29–33. In this essay (1–41), Walton divides previous studies into five positions: (1) political apology for the church to Rome (Burton Scott Easton, Henry J. Cadbury, Conzelmann, and F.F. Bruce); (2) apology for Rome to church (Walaskay, Robert Maddox, and Vernon K. Robinson); (3) legitimation (Esler); (4) equipping (Richard Cassidy); and, (5) a disinterest in politics (Jacob Jervell and Eric Franklin). Walton concludes the essay with his own proposal, suggesting that Luke offers his readers "a strategy of critical distance from the empire." See also Alexandru Neagoe, *The Trial of the Gospel: An Apologetic Reading of Luke's Trial Narratives* (Cambridge: University Press, 2002), 4–22; and Walaskay, *And So We Came to Rome*, 2–10.

by the title of the King, which is not political (Luke 19:38). Conzelmann's Luke also cooperates with the Empire in other ways. Jesus' Jerusalem entry is depicted only as into the temple, a solely religious place (Luke 19:45), and Luke makes explicit—in connection with Pilate, Gallio, Felix and Festus—what attitude is to be taken towards the State (thus, the account of Jesus' trial in Luke; Acts 25:23ff.; 26:32). Conzelmann also emphasizes how Romans are amicable to Jesus and to Christians in Luke-Acts. Pilate confirms Jesus' innocence three times and refuses to condemn him (Luke 23:4, 13, 22), the first convert from paganism in Acts is a Roman centurion (Acts 10), and Paul is secured by Roman law (Acts 21:11ff.). For Conzelmann, Luke's inculpation of the "Jews" highlights both the innocence of Jesus (and his followers) and the legitimacy of the Empire. On the one hand, Luke presents the "Jews," not Jesus and his followers, as the cause of the civil disturbance (Acts 13:50; 14:5, 19; 17:5–7, 13; 18:12–13; 21:27–29; 22:22–23; 23:12–15; 24:1–6; 25:1–3, 7). On the other, he emphasizes the responsibility of the Jewish leaders, in contrast to Roman Pilate, for the death of Jesus (Luke 23:1–2, 5, 10, 18, 21, 23, 25, 35; Acts 2:23; 3:14; 4:11; 7:52; 10:39; 13:27–28).⁹⁸ Consequently, Conzelmann maintains that the "historical theme of the guilt of the Jews and of the innocence of the Empire" is set side by side, along with the "dogmatic theme of the necessity of the suffering," to produce a passion narrative that iterates the "non-political character of the Gospel and of Jesus' Kingship."⁹⁹

In a section of his *The Theology of St. Luke*, Conzelmann analyzes "the Church's situation in the world" in terms of its relationship both with the Roman Empire and with the "Jews."¹⁰⁰ He bases his analysis on the simple dichotomy of religion vs. politics. Therefore, the first subsection treating the relationship to the Romans is titled "the political apologetic" and devoted to demonstrate the "non-political" nature of the Gospel characters, while the following subsection on the relationship with the "Jews" is focused on "Judaism" as a religion. The very term "political" apologetic reveals Conzelmann's reliance on the dichotomy. He develops his theory while contend-

⁹⁸ Walton, "The State," 4–5.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 138–140.

¹⁰⁰ See Conzelmann, *Theology*, 137–149.

ing with other understandings of Luke-Acts as an apology, especially the *religio licita* (a legally-recognized religion) theory, arguing that Luke attempted “to show [to Rome] that Christianity is the most authentic form of Judaism, and that by virtue of this it has a right to enjoy from the Roman authorities the same tolerance as does official Judaism.”¹⁰¹ Against this position, Conzelmann argues, “the relationship of the Church to Israel belongs to an entirely different category than that of political apologetic.” For him, the relationship with Israel belongs to the issue of redemptive history, according to which Luke proves the legitimacy of the Church’s claim and calls the Jews to repentance.¹⁰²

Consequently, utilizing the account of the imperial tribute (Luke 20:20–26), Conzelmann proposes that Luke advocates a double-pronged position concerning the Church’s relationship to the world: in dealing with the “Jews,” Luke requires obedience to “God rather than men”; towards the Empire, Luke asks that “one should render to Caesar what is Caesar’s, and to God what is God’s.”¹⁰³ However, if the first attitude, allegedly directed only toward the religious “Jews,” prevents Jesus’ followers from obeying “men,” how is it possible for them to serve Caesar in any way? And if, God’s reign is in a meta-physical realm such that there is no real conflict between rendering

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 137 n. 1. Conzelmann quotes Loisy, Goguel, Dibelius, and Cadbury for this position. He also presents Sahlin and Streeter as scholars who argue that Acts is an apology for Paul.

¹⁰² Ibid., 142. Following Conzelmann’s demarcation, Luke’s view of the “Jews” or “Judaism” has become another hot area of scholarly debate, and what can be called “pro-” and “anti-Jewish” views are in close contest. Just as in other debates on eschatology and politics, Luke’s multiple and complex relations with both the Jewish and Roman powers are not fully considered in the debate on Lukan-“Jewish” relationship. A relevant understanding of Luke’s view of the “Jews” or “Judaism” requires study in light of his view of Rome. For a recent survey of debate on Luke’s views of Judaism, see Joseph B. Tyson, *Luke, Judaism, and the Scholars: Critical Approaches to Luke-Acts* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1999); Idem, ed., *Luke-Acts and the Jewish People: Eight Critical Perspectives* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988). See also Jon A. Weatherly, *Jewish Responsibility for the Death of Jesus in Luke-Acts* (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1994), 13–50, where the author groups the scholarly opinions into two: “the post-war consensus,” which holds that Luke’s perspective on the “Jews” is essentially negative, and “a dissent from the consensus position.” According to his grouping, the “consensus” position is championed by Conzelmann, Haenchen, Joachim Gnilka, John C. O’Neill, Ulrich Wilckens, Maddox, S.G. Wilson, Tyson, and Jack T. Sanders. The “dissent” view is supported by Gerhard Lohfink, Franklin, Dupont, Augustin George, Jacob Jervell, David Tiede, Robert Brawley, and David Moessner.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 148.

God and rendering Caesar,¹⁰⁴ why should Jesus' followers not obey men? Conzelmann himself acknowledges that his thesis includes contradictory arguments, saying:

Luke knows that this [double attitude] does not in fact avoid a clash, because Rome does not accept this alternative. This can be seen in his statements about persecution and his emphasis in the ethical instruction on endurance in persecution, but—and this is what we must note here—he does not say this to the State, because he is pursuing an apologetic aim.¹⁰⁵

How could the Roman audiences appreciate that Luke “does not say this to the State,” when in Luke, Jesus promises that he will give his followers a mouth and wisdom, which none of their “*adversaries*” will be able to withstand or contradict” (Luke 21:14)? Given that the “adversaries” in Jesus’ words clearly indicate the Jewish *and Roman* authorities, who persecute Jesus’ followers and even kill them (v 16), how could these words of Jesus be overlooked by a Roman audience? The proponent of “political apologetic” theory seems to presume that the Roman officials could differentiate what Luke says to the Church from what is addressed to themselves. Based on the same religion vs. politics dichotomy, could the ancient Roman magistrates have understood Luke’s warning (“one must obey God rather than men”) as a solely religious claim, implying that serving God would not conflict with serving Caesar (“render to Caesar what is Caesar’s, and to God what is God’s”)?

Apology for Rome towards the church (Paul Walaskay)

Paul W. Walaskay’s argument is largely based on Conzelmann’s structure. Walaskay consents that the delay of the parousia fueled Luke’s theological speculation¹⁰⁶ and never doubts that Luke is pro-Roman. However, Walaskay also supports C. K. Barrett’s contention that “no Roman official would have filtered out so much of what to him would be theological and ecclesiastical rubbish in order to reach so tiny a grain of relevant apology.”¹⁰⁷ Thus, Walaskay pro-

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. For the five positions concerning the meaning of Jesus statement, “Render to Caesar what is Caesar’s, to God what is God’s” (Luke 20:15), see footnote 139.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 149.

¹⁰⁶ Walaskay, ‘*And So We Came to Rome*’, 65.

¹⁰⁷ C.K. Barrett, *Luke the Historian in Recent Study* (London: Epworth Press, 1961), 63, quoted in *ibid.*, 37.

poses an “upside-down” representation of political apologetic theory, arguing that Luke did not address the Roman magistrates but wrote to the Christian community in order to defend the Empire. According to Walaskay,

the Christian church and the Roman empire need not fear nor suspect each other, for God stands behind both institutions giving to each other the power and the authority to carry out his will. That the Christian church survived that first crucial century may be due in large measure to the cautious wisdom of Luke in this regard.¹⁰⁸

Walaskay critiques Conzelmann’s thesis that Luke presented a “politically” harmless picture of the church. Jesus’ program is not as “apolitical” as Conzelmann has suggested, “especially when one considers the potential political impact of Jesus’ Old Testament text and the sermon which he preached to a Galilean synagogue.”¹⁰⁹ With a redaction-critical analysis, Walaskay shows how Luke added certain details that are contradictory to the thesis of Conzelmann, including Simon, the so-called Zealot, among Jesus’ disciples (Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13); Jesus’ command to buy swords (Luke 22:35–38); and, Jesus named as Lord and king (Luke 19:38 and Acts 1:6). Walskay also maintains that a Roman reader would not have been impressed by the ambiguous ending of Acts, because Paul’s innocence is not demonstrated.¹¹⁰

Nevertheless, Walaskay argues that Luke does not present an unfavorable picture of Roman authority. He disagrees in two ways with E. Franklin, who argues that Luke describes Roman authorities as sometimes capricious, sometimes harsh, and occasionally corrupt.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Walaskay, ‘*And So We Came to Rome*’, x.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 16–22.

¹¹¹ The passages E. Franklin utilizes as examples include (1) Luke 13:1 (Pilate ordering the slaughter of Galileans); (2) Luke 23:13–25 (Pilate giving way to Jewish pressure at Jesus’ trial); (3) Luke 19:41; 21:5–36; 23:27–31 (The Romans destroying Jerusalem); (4) Acts 16:19–40 (Paul and Silas beaten and jailed by colonial magistrates); (5) Acts 17:1–10 (Paul and Silas sent to Thessalonica); (6) Acts 21:37–40 (Paul examined by Lysias); (7) Acts 24:26–27 (Felix keeping Paul in prison hoping to obtain a bribe); and (8) Acts 25:11, 25 (Paul’s appeal to Caesar suggesting that Paul by no means had confidence in the trial’s final outcome). E. Franklin, *Christ the Lord*, 138, quoted in *ibid.*, 23. It should be noted that Franklin does not use these texts to support any anti-Roman stance, but he argues that Luke is simply uninterested in politics of the Roman Empire. He continues, “But for Luke that does not really matter. . . . Luke does not suggest that God’s final action [inaugurated by the exaltation of Jesus of Nazareth] will win over the Roman state. What he does maintain is that the Roman state is compelled to co-operate in something

First, Walaskay asserts that Luke's description of these magistrates should be understood against the backdrop of jealous Jews who constantly pressure the authorities to act against Christians. Walaskay then suggests that, despite the corruption of the officials, Luke constantly presents "a durable imperial legal system that transcends local administrative waffling."¹¹² Strangely, while Walaskay claims Luke's negative descriptions of Roman officials do not represent his view of the Empire itself, their positive descriptions are argued as "actively promoting a positive representation of Roman rule."¹¹³ Presenting five examples, Walaskay displays Luke showing "high regard for the imperial government."¹¹⁴ The exemplary passages include (1) the birth of Jesus harmonized with the decree of Augustus (Luke 2:1–5);¹¹⁵ (2) John the Baptist's preaching to the representatives of Rome (Luke 3:1);¹¹⁶ (3) Jesus' comments on the piety of the centurion who recognizes Jesus' authority (Luke 7:1–10);¹¹⁷ (4) the imperial tribute that reminds the church of its duty to the establishment (Luke 20:20–26); and, (5) Jesus' teaching on the kings and benefactors (Luke 22:24–27).

greater than itself, that God uses it to achieve his purposes both in the crucifixion of Jesus and in the arrival of Paul at Rome." Like Conzelmann's, Franklin's thesis is also based on a division of religion and politics, which is untenable for the first century AD.

¹¹² Walaskay, *And So We Came to Rome*, 23–24.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 25–37.

¹¹⁵ Quoting W. Grundmann, Walaskay argues, "Joseph's journey to Bethlehem (Luke 2:1–5) signals the rejection of the Zealot way which opposes the imperial decree." However, he does not consider that the same passage contrasts the baby Jesus laid in a manger, an infant marginalized by the imperialism of the Roman rulers (2:1–7). In addition, being a Zealot was not the only way to resist Rome, and the rejection of that sect does not necessarily imply obedience to the Empire. See W. Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1971), 80, quoted in *Ibid.*, 26.

¹¹⁶ Walaskay interprets the "crowd" (ὄχλοι) gathered around John the Baptist (Luke 3:7, 10) as "proletariat." This enacts a serious misunderstanding. He fails to see not only Luke's distinction between the "people" and "crowd" but also the social composition of the crowd in Luke. The "crowd" includes various groups such as tax collectors (5:29), disciples (6:17), and even the Jewish leaders (5:17–19; 19:39; 22:47; 23:4). See my discussion in footnote 65 in Chapter Four.

¹¹⁷ Walaskay observes a co-existence of the two authorities in this passage. He argues, "Luke compared two kinds of authority: the centurion had imperial authority to control earthly events, while Jesus possessed divine authority over the spirit world." However, he not only bases his understanding of Luke on the binary division between the worldly and the spiritual but fails to see the conflict of the authorities in Luke. For my further discussion of the conflict of authorities, see the first section of Chapter Three, titled as "the conflict between two religious/political systems."

In the fifth example, Walaskay compares the passage (Luke 22:24–27) with its synoptic parallel (Mark 10:42–25), concluding that Luke “carefully adjusted the Marcan vocabulary” by removing the harsh proposition (κατά) from Mark’s compound verb (κατακυριεύειν and κατεξουσιάζειν, 10:42) in order to portray the *imperium* in a favorable light.¹¹⁸

Walaskay digresses from Conzelmann’s understanding of Luke’s church as persecuted (church under stress) and emphasizes the lack of historical evidence for such an understanding. However, regardless of the exact history, it cannot be disputed that Luke narrates persecutions committed by both Jewish and Roman powers (Luke 21:12). Walaskay evades serious treatment of such passages, simply attributing them to inconsistencies in Luke’s apology.¹¹⁹ Walaskay continues, “Jesus was indeed crucified, Stephen was martyred, and Paul was both persecutor and persecuted, but according to Luke these were unfortunate, though necessary, parts of God’s design for salvation.”¹²⁰ If so, then why does Luke’s Jesus warn Judas Iscariot, “The Son of Man goes as it has been determined; but woe to that man by whom he is betrayed” (Luke 22:22). Walaskay makes no mention of any judgments against the Roman persecutors. The church of Luke, “reconstructed” by Walaskay, would be established institution in the stage “not of mere survival in the Empire, but of dialogue between Christians and Romans” in a context of Rome putting its “best foot forward.”¹²¹ However, the picture Luke portrays of his contemporary context, especially in the end-time discourse (Luke 21:5–36), is not such an idyllic one.¹²²

¹¹⁸ Walaskay also uses examples to describe the imperial judicial system, which he articulates primarily through a discussion of the trial narratives of Jesus and Paul (Ibid., 38–63). For my assessment of his positions on Jesus’ farewell address (Luke 22:24–27) and on the trial of Jesus before Pilate (Luke 23:1–25), see pages 161–169 and 184–186 respectively.

¹¹⁹ Walaskay, *And So We Came to Rome*, 11. In page 13 of his book, discussing the relationship between the Jewish authorities and Rome, Walaskay denounces Richard Cassidy that the latter “has not always rigorously followed through with his redaction critical analysis” but replaced textual date with a historical probability (13). However, about the issue of persecution, Walaskay himself substitutes some historical background for textual analysis.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid., 12.

¹²² Concerning Luke’s description of his contemporary context, see my discussion in Chapter Three, especially pages 126–131.

Walaskay's concern with the problematic division between religion and politics does not pertain to his understanding Luke-Acts. He asserts, "And like his Christian and non-Christian contemporaries, Luke knew that earthly authority was derived from God's authority; obedience to Caesar, therefore, was also obedience to divinely ordained authority."¹²³ This statement can operate only within the same dichotomy on which Conzelmann also bases his understanding of the space-time of the Reign of God; it is believed that God committed the authority over "this world" to Caesar who is the worldly authority one should obey. Walaskay does not consider that the authority of Caesar, which is both religious and political, could conflict with the religious/political authority of Jesus.¹²⁴ Walaskay further follows the dichotomy implied in Conzelmann's theory of "political" apologetic without any deliberate reconsideration. For example, Walaskay maintains:

Conzelmann has wisely observed that the Lucan political apologetic is not an appeal for religious toleration under the protective law of *religio licita*, but an appeal to the state to extend civil rights equitably and fairly to all its citizens including Christian citizens.¹²⁵

In Conzelmann's thesis of the apologetic, the term "political" implies that the argument is presented "towards the state." Walaskay contends, "As we shall see in the discussion of Paul's trial . . . Luke does not so neatly divorce 'religious apologetic' from 'political apologetic.' Rather, political and religious issues are always interwoven in Paul's legal defense." Further, Walaskay, by omitting the term "political" from the title of his own thesis (*apologia pro imperio*), collapses the political into the religious and thereby claims that Luke's apology is mainly given towards the church rather than towards the Empire. In addition, by following Conzelmann's binary division between the Jewish leadership and the Empire, Walaskay, like Conzelmann, neglects any acknowledgment of a colonial relationship between the Jewish authorities and the Empire. Neither scholar observes the Jewish leaders' collaboration with the Roman powers (Luke 12:11; 21:12) nor interprets Jesus' contention with the Jerusalem leadership from the

¹²³ Ibid., 35.

¹²⁴ See footnote 117.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 9. Underlines are mine. For another example of this dichotomy in Walaskay, see Ibid., 39, and his "The Trial and Death of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke," *JBL* 94 (1975): 82.

context of the Empire. Criticizing Cassidy, about whom more will be said in the following section, Walaskay argues, "Though Jesus may have confronted the 'power that be' in Palestine, one is not so sure that Luke was as willing to extend that challenge to Rome."¹²⁶

Allegiance-conduct-witness (Richard Cassidy)

Richard Cassidy's two books on Luke and Acts, one published prior to and the other following Walaskay's own modification of political apologetic theory, not only refute Conzelmann's thesis of political apologetic but also question the basic premise that Luke is pro-Roman.¹²⁷ Unlike Conzelmann and Walaskay, Cassidy is alert to the problems of the religion vs. politics dichotomy. Cassidy contends:

As we have seen, Luke presents Jesus making concrete, "this-worldly" responses to social patterns and political authorities, yet Conzelmann here seems to suggest that Jesus' teaching and activity did not really place him in conflict with the existing social and political conditions and that Jesus was primarily concerned with a heavenly kingship. Since the kingship was on a different "plane" from that on which the Roman empire existed, Jesus could still be submissive to the Roman order on its own plane. But once it is challenged, what evidence can Conzelmann adduce to support such an interpretation? What passages in Luke's gospel indicate that Jesus was concerned about heavenly kingship and submissive to the social order that the Romans were maintaining?¹²⁸

Cassidy's awareness of the colonial relationship between the Roman colonizer and the Jewish vassals allows him to observe how Jesus' conflict with the Jewish authorities implies a great deal about the

¹²⁶ This statement occurs, while he is critiquing Cassidy. Walaskay attacks Cassidy that because he "has not always rigorously followed through with his redactional critical analysis. . . . One is left with a tendentious, but rather flat, reconstruction of Luke's political perspective." See Walaskay, *And So We Came to Rome*, 13. However, as those who have experience of or serious concern with colonialism/imperialism know, colonialism is not sustained without the collaboration of the colonized vassals. As a person colonized, Luke would have had access to such a sense. Therefore, it is not Cassidy but Walaskay who would need to carry the burden of proof for the claim that the Jewish authorities do not have a colonial relationship with the Roman Empire in Luke.

¹²⁷ Richard J. Cassidy, *Jesus, Politics, and Society: A Study of Luke's Gospel* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1978), which is based on his dissertation submitted to the Graduate Theological Union, and Idem, *Society and Politics in the Acts of the Apostles* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1987).

¹²⁸ Cassidy, *Jesus*, 129.

Roman relations.¹²⁹ Cassidy's sensitivity to the nature of this relationship allows him not to disjoin the Jerusalem leaders from Pilate in the dynamics of the passion narrative. While Conzelmann argues that Luke exculpates Pilate by inculpating the Jews for Jesus' crucifixion, Cassidy emphasizes that, although the chief priests play an extremely aggressive role in Lukan passion narrative, it is Pilate, the Roman governor, who still holds ultimate power.¹³⁰ Four notes in Luke indicate that the Romans executed Jesus and that Pilate retained jurisdiction over the proceedings (Luke 23:24–26; 23:33–38, 47, 52).¹³¹

Cassidy argues that Jesus' social teachings about women, violence, and material possessions contravene social patterns affirmed and supported by the Romans.¹³² "If large numbers of people ever came to support the new social patterns that Luke portrays Jesus advocating . . . the Roman empire . . . could not have continued."¹³³ Although the disciples in Acts neither question Roman taxation nor engage in other forms of explicitly anti-Roman activity, a general claim cannot be established that Luke actually presents Jesus' followers as law-abiding and harmless.¹³⁴ The description of the church leaders involved in a number of controversies in Acts undermines Conzelmann's thesis that Luke portrays the church as harmless to the Empire. Although the controversies are in part due to Jewish agitators, the Acts narratives suggest that "the various troubles did not begin until Paul himself arrived on the scene." Paul's teaching resulted in major conflicts not only with the Jews but also in strictly Gentile settings. In addition, Cassidy continues, "it is hard to argue that high Roman officials formally exonerate Paul from any illegal activity or wrongdoing in connection with these public disorders." For example, Gallio's exoneration of Paul benefits from the proconsul's bias against the Jews.¹³⁵

Conzelmann and Walaskay overlook the passages where Jesus refuses to cooperate with, or actually criticizes, his political rulers, thus both fail to appreciate Luke's portrayal of Jesus as "one who consistently contravened the existing social patterns, patterns which

¹²⁹ Ibid., 54.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 128–129.

¹³¹ Ibid., 71–72.

¹³² Ibid., 20–49.

¹³³ Ibid., 79.

¹³⁴ Cassidy, *Acts*, 148.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 149.

the Romans were committed to maintain.”¹³⁶ Cassidy emphasizes that Jesus neither shows deference to the officials who oversee the political order (for example at his trials) nor submits to the social patterns and practices to which the Romans and their allies are committed. Rather, he espouses social practices profoundly at variance with those of the Roman order.¹³⁷ Although Paul’s Roman citizenship is prominent in Acts and Paul is generally cooperative with the Roman officials, Luke hardly describes Paul as a typical citizen with traditionally loyalties to the Empire. Rather, Cassidy continues, “Luke actually portrays Paul taking an approach to his Roman standing that could only have impressed a Roman reader of Acts as highly unorthodox and even as troublesome.” Paul’s constant reference to Jesus as “Lord” would also be disturbing to a Roman official whose first allegiance belongs to the emperor.¹³⁸

For Cassidy, Luke does not portray the Roman system favorably. Cassidy considers three teachings of Jesus for the ways they touch the subject of Roman rule: Jesus’ statement on imperial tribute (Luke 20:20–26); his call to establish social relationship based upon service and humility (22:24–27); and, his predictions that his followers will be persecuted by both the Jewish and the Roman powers (12:11–12; 21:12–15). Cassidy presents interpretations of these three passages that are quite different from those of Walaskay. Concerning Jesus’ statement on imperial tribute (Luke 20:25), Cassidy counters scholars who envision two different spheres and two kinds of obligations,¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Cassidy, *Jesus*, 129–130.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 61–62.

¹³⁸ Cassidy, *Acts*, 150.

¹³⁹ Concerning the scholarly debates on paying tribute to Caesar (Luke 20:20–26; Mark 12:13–17; Mt 22:15–22), see the summaries in Fitzmyer, *Gospel*, 1292–1293; B.T. Viviano, “Render unto Caesar,” *Bible Today* (Sept. 1988): 273–276; Justin S. Ukpong, “Tribute to Caesar, Mark 12:13–17 (Mt 22:15–22; Lk 20:20–26),” *Neotestamentica* 33 no. 2 (1999): 434–436; and Herman Hendrickx, *The Third Gospel for the Third World, volume Four-A: Jesus in the Temple (Luke 19:45–21:38)* (Collegeville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 2001), 53–70. Fitzmyer divides the positions into three: the *two-kingdoms interpretation*, the *ironic interpretation*, and the *anti-zealotic interpretation*. Viviano adds the *zealotic interpretation* to the three, and Ukpong adds *liberationist interpretation* as the fifth position. First, the *two-kingdoms interpretation* (in Fitzmyer’s terms) or the *political interpretation* (in Viviano’s terms) proposes that Jesus not only recommends the payment of the imperial tribute but also teaches a proper attitude of submission toward political authority or the state (L. von Ranke; O. Cullmann; E. Shauffer; P. Bonnard; L. Goppelt; E.E. Ellis). Viviano also follows this position. Fitzmyer argues that this position tends to equate what is due to God with what is due to Caesar. Hendrickx points out that this position draws too far-reaching a

emphasizing that “Jesus really taught and acted in terms of only one realm: God’s.” He suggests:

In our view, then, the meaning of the first clause of Jesus’ answer was the following: Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar’s. But what things are Caesar’s? For Caesar does not possess anything autonomously from God. Thus, the only areas in which Caesar can expect allegiance are those in which his patterns are in conformity with God’s desired patterns. The second clause in Jesus’ response repeats and intensifies

conclusion from a particular point. Second, for the scholars who support the *ironic interpretation*, Jesus is not really interested in the tribute to Caesar, which is not a serious issue compared to the Reign of God. One would give to Caesar what belongs to him, but of what importance is that in comparison with the Reign of God? For these interpreters, the first part of the pronouncement on rendering to Caesar is an evasive answer, which is not to be taken seriously. This position “pits the second part of the pronouncement [of Jesus] against the first” so that “the things that are God’s” nullifies “the things that are Caesar’s” (M. Dibelius; A. Schweitzer; S. Kierkegaard; Berger-Levrault). Fitzmyer points out that the conjunction that separates the two parts is “and,” not an adversative “but.” In addition, Viviano (274) contends that the generally serious nature of Jesus’ sayings in the gospels make it difficult to follow this position. Fitzmyer himself supports the third position, which he names *anti-zealot interpretation* (G. Bornkamm; Tertullian; D. Cairns; R. Völkl; R. Schnackenburg). According to this position, Jesus openly opposes the refusal to pay tribute to Rome, but his pronouncement has no real bearing on the problem of the state. Rather, Jesus tells his contenders that they put too much importance on the issue, which is only secondary. Fitzmyer continues, “Jesus’ saying was certainly not intended to set up two parallel but separate kingships.” Johnson (*Gospel*, 312) argues that “allegiance to God is not on the same plane as political allegiance” but “has the demand of absolute devotion of the mind, the heart, and the strength (10:27).” Quoting C.H. Giblin (“The Thing of God’ in the Question Concerning Tribute to Caesar [Lk 20:25; Mk 12:17; Mt 22:21],” *CBQ* 33 [1971]: 510–527) and I.H. Marshall (*The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1978], 736), Fitzmyer argues that the comparison is between the coin, which bears the image of Caesar, and human beings, who bear the image of God: the second part of Jesus’ answer (rendering to God) is a reminder to the interlocutors of the homage and service that they owe to God since they bear the image of God. It seems that all the three positions Fitzmyer summarizes are based on a binary division between political and spiritual realms, the division in which rendering to Caesar would roughly represent politics and rendering to God would indicate religious devotion. As I am endeavoring to show, such division does not fit Luke’s view of the world. While the *two-kingdoms interpretation* gives equal weight to both halves of the statement (politics), the other two positions considers the second part (religion) more important. There are several other positions that attempt to politicize the preceding views. The *zealotic interpretation* (S.G.F. Brandon) uses the logic of the *ironic interpretation* to argue that the second part of statement on giving to God nullifies the preceding words on giving to Caesar. However, contrary to the ironic interpretation, it suggests that the things that belong to God not only include the spiritual but also the land of Israel and God’s sovereignty over it (and also, over the people). According to this view, Jesus was in fundamental sympathy with zealot principles including the use of violence, though he was not a zealot. Cassidy, in *Jesus*, 58–60, follows the logic of a position that Jesus teaches

this teaching: Render to God the things that are God's. But everything belongs to God, and there is no area in which God's desires can rightfully be neglected. Indeed, God must be rendered to even if to do so requires a rejection of the practices that the Caesars themselves have set in place.¹⁴⁰

Though Cassidy does not argue that Jesus' statement on Rendering to Caesar forbids the tribute, he does assert that "Jesus was indicating how the Roman social order was to be critically evaluated." In this regard, he distinguishes Jesus in Luke from the Zealots, who would have rejected the Roman rule and Roman taxes more clearly and explicitly. "In comparison, although it leaves the way open for tax resistance, Jesus' response was not such as to challenge the Romans in the way that the Zealots' response would have."¹⁴¹

Contrary to Walaskay, who claims that Luke was concerned "in promoting an accord between the church and the state," Cassidy maintains that Luke's passion narrative functions to separate Jesus from the Zealots.¹⁴² The Jerusalem leadership accuses Jesus as one who has a stance similar to a Zealot. However, "rather than seeking to establish a kingdom of his own, Luke's Jesus espouses social patterns and practices based on service and humility and does not

and acts in terms of only one realm: God's. According to his interpretation of Jesus' statement, Caesar does not possess anything autonomously from God. However, Cassidy (163 n. 30) differentiates Jesus from the Zealots, who "would have given a clear and explicit denunciation of Roman rule and Roman taxes." He argues that Jesus' statement is not a direct answer to the question but a criticism of the Roman order. Cassidy (40–47) and Ukpong (435) contend that the use of violence cannot be supported by "Jesus' persistent preaching against the use of force." The *liberationist interpretation* (Fernando Belo; Sebastian Kappen) highlights the meaning of the verb, "give back" (ἀποδοῖδόναι). This position proposes that the Jews are asked to reject everything to do with the coin and with what it represents. The *liberationist interpretation* uses some anti-zealotic interpreters' analysis of the comparison between what is marked with Caesar's image and what is marked with God's image, but this position, as *zealotic interpretation*, emphasizes that the Jews should be subject to God alone, and to no one else, not even to Caesar. While the *zealotic* and *liberationist interpretations* effectively observe the political nature of the second part of the statement (Render to God the things that are God's), they tend to neglect the religious significance of "rendering to Caesar" in Jesus' statement. Both positions do not properly consider that the Jerusalem leadership (or their spies) could not find any (anti-Roman) fault with Jesus' answer (Luke 20:26). In addition, the *liberationist* position takes the word "give back" too literally. For my own interpretation of this passage (Luke 20:20–26), see the section, titled as "from heaven or from men," in Chapter Four (pages 94–100).

¹⁴⁰ Cassidy, *Jesus*, 58–59.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 163 n. 30.

¹⁴² Walaskay, 'And So We Came to Rome', 35, puts the two arguments in contrast.

take a definite position with regard to any of the existing forms of government."¹⁴³ Luke's descriptions in earlier chapters clearly show that Jesus was not a Zealot. Cassidy suggests that, "even though Jesus would not cooperate with them, both Pilate and Herod still discerned almost immediately that Jesus was not a Zealot or comparable to the Zealots and that the chief priests' charges were therefore false."¹⁴⁴

Consequently, Cassidy proposes a three-part theory to describe Luke's concerns, an interpretation which he names "allegiance-conduct-witness" theory. He suggests that Luke wrote (1) to express and share his own allegiance to Jesus, (2) to provide his audiences with guidance how to exercise their discipleship within the context of Roman rule, and (3) to provide them with perspective and guidance for their trial witness before political authorities.¹⁴⁵ Cassidy argues that this theory is competent to interpret the ending of Acts: "Paul stands ready to give faithful and uncompromised testimony before the empire's highest official. . . . The encounters which Paul has previously had with various provincial officials effectively prepare the way for such a 'summit' encounter with Caesar."¹⁴⁶

Along with Conzelmann and Walaskay, Cassidy considers the Roman Empire as a significant player in the context of Luke. However, Cassidy disagrees with the others' premise that Luke was motivated by an "apologetic" intention in which the Empire is of primary concern. In this regard, Cassidy's Luke is less "political"¹⁴⁷ than the one the apologetic theorists suggest, because for Luke, the relation with Rome was not primarily intended but the Empire would be necessarily confronted with his audiences in the process of their witness. Robert F. O'Toole's denunciation that Cassidy subsumes all of Luke-Acts under the heading of political and social issues is not valid.¹⁴⁸ Regarding Luke's audiences, Cassidy agrees with Walaskay that Luke wrote to the church. But contrary to the ecclesial apologetic theory, Cassidy emphasizes those situations in which Luke's audiences are in probable conflict with the authorities.

¹⁴³ Cassidy, *Jesus*, 66.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Cassidy, *Acts*, 158–159.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Here I utilize the term, "political," as Conzelmann and Walaskay use it.

¹⁴⁸ Robert F. O'Toole, review of Richard J. Cassidy, *Society and Politics in the Acts of the Apostles* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1987), *Biblica* 70 (1989): 427.

As Ralph P. Martin assesses, Cassidy makes a significant contribution in that he has forged a third way, diverging from “the contemporary debate [which] has polarized into diametrically opposed positions which view Jesus respectively as carrying a Zealot portfolio and, on the other side, being opposed totally to any direct involvement in Palestinian politics.”¹⁴⁹ Because Cassidy distinguishes Luke from a Zealot, and because a different political position would correlate with different views of the Empire, John M.G. Barclay’s contention that Luke does not portray Rome as the beast or the anti-Christ of the Book of Revelation does not undermine Cassidy’s argument. Nevertheless, Barclay’s remark that Luke acknowledges the Empire “as a system through which God can and does work” deserves attention.¹⁵⁰ Despite presenting a more relevant and complex view of Luke’s politics than the apologetic theorists do, Cassidy fails to discuss why Luke so often describes Roman officials positively, as godly ones (the centurion of Capernaum, Luke 7:1–10; Cornelius, Acts 10:1–11:18; Sergius Paulus, Acts 13:7, 12), or in Walton’s terms, as “kindly, even warmly, as fair, efficient and helpful to Paul.”¹⁵¹ Neither does Cassidy explain why Luke highlights the event of Pilate (and the centurion) declaring Jesus’ innocence, though Pilate ultimately gives way to the Jerusalem leadership. Even though Cassidy, distinguishing his views from the apologetic theorists, demonstrates an awareness of the colonial relationship between the Jerusalem leadership and the Empire, he does not explicate the ways Luke contests with the Jewish authorities for the favor of Rome. For example, Cassidy does not attend to Luke’s assimilation of the leaders with a mob that disturbs the imperial judicial order (Luke 23:18–25).

How to do justice to each end of spectrum?

Much like his view of the time and space of the Reign of God, Luke’s stance towards Rome is a complex mixture of pro- and anti-Roman sentiments. Steve Walton, after presenting a fine summary and excellent assessment of various scholarly positions—including

¹⁴⁹ See Ralph P. Martin’s recommendation for Cassidy, *Jesus*, in the flyleaf of the same book.

¹⁵⁰ John M.G. Barclay, review of Richard Cassidy, *Society and Politics in the Acts of the Apostles* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1987), *SJT* 42 (1989), 577. See also Walton, “The State,” 33.

¹⁵¹ Walton, “The State,” 32.

Conzelmann, Walaskay, and Cassidy—points out that none of the three scholars treats the textual evidences with fairness. Conzelmann, operating within a dichotomy of religion vs. politics, omits too much significant data and includes too much insignificant data: “if one of Luke’s primary purposes was to persuade Roman officials of the harmlessness of Christianity, he has been far too subtle to succeed and has included far too much extraneous material.”¹⁵² Walaskay, too, fails to account for Luke’s inclusion of “material critical of the empire.” And Walton criticizes Cassidy for finding “it hard to handle the preponderance of passages” where Roman officials are presented positively.¹⁵³ Responding to all three predecessors, Walton proposes an eclectic theory, attempting to do justice to the text in its entirety.¹⁵⁴ He maintains that Luke “falls at both ends of the spectrum between Romans 13 and Revelation 13,” thereby offering “a strategy of critical distance from the empire.” The strategy: “Where co-operation and mutual respect are possible, Christians should do nothing to harm those; where the empire or its representatives turn against the church, the Christian stance is to be twofold: to call the state back to its former ways and to bear faithful witness to Jesus.”¹⁵⁵ While I do not attempt to propose a new theory on Luke’s purposes, because examining the original intentions of the author, a historical-critical project, would be beyond the scope of this study, I would like to emphasize one point with regard to Luke’s view of Rome. Although Walton is alert to the division between religion and politics, his proposal does not consider the colonial relationship with the Jewish authorities. He fails to see how Luke’s relationship with the Jewish leadership simultaneously conveys his view of Rome and vice versa. Luke’s triangular relationship with the Jewish and Roman powers is significant for understanding both his view of Rome and the Jewish leadership. How can we understand Luke more fully, not only treating data in ways that balance both ends of the spectrum but that also consider the intersections of multiple power relations?

¹⁵² Ibid., 30.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 29–33.

¹⁵⁴ Despite his fine summary of Cassidy’s argument, Walton misses Cassidy’s comparison between Jesus and a Zealot, perhaps because the summary focuses on Cassidy’s second book, *Society, Politics in the Acts of the Apostles*. Cassidy’s neither-pro-Roman-nor-zealotic interpretation is a “third-way” view of Luke comparable with Walton’s own eclectic position.

¹⁵⁵ Walton, “The State,” 33–35.

Summary and new direction

Having surveyed Lukan studies on eschatology and on Rome, my own optic of space-time and power-relations has gained in clarity. My survey shows that Luke's eschatology and his view of Rome have been treated in the scholarly debates as if they were separate problems, though in Luke's view, the space-time and the power relations of the Reign of God are closely integrated. Regarding the timing of the parousia, Conzelmann's reconstruction of Luke's situation and theoretical proposal have been widely refuted (concerning the delay motif: Smith, Mattill, Francis, Tannehil, Nollan, and Bovon; concerning the situation: Talbert, Wilson, Fitzmyer, and Carroll; concerning the salvation history: Bovon and Ellis). Luke's eschatology is currently best understood as a mixture of imminent eschatology and parousia delay (Green). With regard to Luke's spatial interpretations, while diverse proposals have attempted a shift from horizontal to vertical eschatology (Flender, Barrett, Dupont, and Schneider), they have failed to explain the cosmic and futuristic nature of the end (emphasized by Cadbury, Carroll, and Green).

Concerning Luke's notion of power relations, while Conzelmann's pro-Roman interpretation of Luke has been a primary influence, Walaskay modified the theory of "political apologetic toward the Empire" to present an "upside-down" proposal, claiming that Luke attempted an "ecclesial apology" in order to let the church acknowledge the Empire. Critiquing both scholars, rejecting not only their proposals but also their presumption that Luke is pro-Roman, Cassidy argued that Luke presented Jesus and his supporters as contravening social patterns championed by the Empire. Cassidy's "allegiance-conduct-witness" theory, based on an understanding of the imperial context of possible trials, offers a contextual understanding of Luke very different from that of Walaskay. Walton confronts all three scholars, challenging their fairness to the textual data. Proposing an eclectic theory of "a strategy of critical distance from the empire," Walton offers textual balance, but he is still influenced by his division of the Jewish leadership from Rome.

Despite the wide contentions with Conzelmann, Lukan studies have largely remained within his demarcation and have thus operated within a misplaced binary division. The dichotomy of religion vs. politics works as the basis of a demarcation, from which other secondary dichotomies are derived, resulting in a harboring of the

Reign of God from contest with the Empire and hindering access to see the colonial relationship between Luke and the Jewish and Roman authorities. These divisions produce serious misinterpretations of Luke. The spatial dichotomy of “this world” vs. “the other” allows for the assumption that God concedes the Reign on this earth to the Roman emperor, hindering conceptions of the coming Reign of God as a reordering of this-worldly power. If a division between religion and state is presumed, one is unlikely to discern Jesus’ conflicts with the worldly powers as occurring in a political plane. In addition, in operating under such an assumed division, one can easily separate the Jewish nation from its relation with the Roman Empire so as to conceive that the Jerusalem leadership acts independently of the Empire.

Luke’s text does not support such binary divisions. In Luke, religion and politics go together; Jesus’ conflict with the worldly powers takes place in the both-religious-and-political plane, and the Jewish and Roman powers collaborate with one another. The Jerusalem leadership in Luke neither represents a religion separate from the state nor does it operate with a nationalist concern independent from imperial concerns and influence. Luke describes them as dependent upon the power of Rome (Luke 20:20) and acting from a concern for the security of the Empire (Luke 23:2, 5).

A certain division does exist in Luke’s narrative, one which is neither a dichotomy of religion vs. politics nor an intra-religious struggle (in which no politics are involved). There is a confrontation between two both-religious-and-political systems. In the following chapters of book, through a textual analysis of Luke 19:45–21:38, I explore Luke’s description of the conflict between the religion/politics of Empire, an allegiance of both Jewish and Roman powers, and the Reign of God as the religion/politics of Jesus. Luke’s relations with the Jewish leadership and the Roman Empire are neither simple nor distinct, but are complicated by the colonial situation. In the following chapters, I also examine how Luke constructs this conflict in his own narrative frame, shaping a context through which he presents and describes the space-time of the Reign of God as an alternative to that of the Roman Empire.

CHAPTER THREE

IN THE TEMPLE: THE CONFLICT BETWEEN EMPIRE AND THE REIGN OF GOD (LUKE 19:45–21:38)

In the previous chapter, I have pointed out that scholarly interpretations of Luke are largely influenced by some binary divisions, including divisions between religion and politics, between this world and the other, and between Jewish authorities and Roman officials. Such dichotomies, which I will refute, affect many scholars so that they fail to properly address the link between Luke's eschatology and his view of Rome. In the following two exegetical chapters, I discuss the extent to which Luke's eschatology is linked to his position on Rome and the ways his conception of the reign of God is related to Roman imperialism. My textual analysis in this book chapter is focused on Jesus' end-time discourse (Luke 21:5–36), which is seen against the thematic background of Jesus' activity in the temple (Luke 19:45–21:38), while the next chapter on the passion narrative (Luke 22–23) attends to the development of themes described in the previous sections of the Gospel.

In this chapter of the book, rather than operating with the dichotomy of Jews vs. Romans and of religion vs. politics, I will show how Luke presents the Jewish and Roman authorities not only as competitors but also as a single system altogether, i.e., the religion/politics of Empire. The imperial system, in turn, is in conflict with the Reign of God, in other words, the religion/politics of Jesus' God. Luke's position concerning Rome will be explored through the analysis of multiple relationships. I utilize Jesus' end-time discourse (Luke 21:5–36) to focus on the triangular power relations between the followers of Jesus, the Jerusalem authorities, and the Romans. Through a textual analysis, I will argue that the narrative rhetoric of Luke 21 suggests that Luke develops his eschatology out of the unstable (vv 8–9) and painful context (vv 12–19), in which the Jerusalem authorities collaborate with Romans (v 12), and that it considers the process leading to the end as the judgment upon those who abuse Jesus' followers (vv 20–24, 25–27). Luke's view of Rome is complicated by the dynamics of abuse and punishment in Jesus' triangular relations

with the Jerusalem leadership and Rome. Luke's eschatology is not only religious but also political, because it is founded by such power relationships.

I will address my thesis by focusing on the narrative in the text rather than base my argument on historical studies. Repetitions and strategic uses of words, ideas, and literary elements are attended to in order to discern a rhetorical structure to the text. The entire discourse, I suggest, consists of four sections: following the opening three verses (Luke 21:5–7), two warnings (vv 8–9, 34–36)¹ enclose the description of the eschatological events (vv 10–33), which are developed in a form of spiral.

- (1) Introductory statement and questions (vv 5–7)
- (2) Warning: “take heed!” (vv 8–9)
- (3) Eschatological events (vv 10–33)
- (4) Warning: “take heed!” (vv 34–36)

Through an analysis of structure, I will show that Luke patterns the end-time discourse (Luke 21:5–36) through *repetition and development*. In other words, each repetition contains a further thematic development that spirals the discourse onward.² Besides the double warnings (vv 8–9, 34–36), the statements on ταῦτα (“these things,” vv 6, 7, 9, 28, 31; cf. 12, 36) conclude each of the four sections,³ expanding the horizon of the discourse each time. Although “these things” at the beginning (v 6a) seemingly refers to the noble stones and offerings of the temple (v 5), the implication of the term expands with the broadening purview of the discourse to include the unstable (vv 8–9) and painful realities (vv 12–19) of the penultimate period—including the time of the audience/reader⁴—and finally

¹ Each of the two warnings begins with a Greek term translated into “take heed”: βλέπετε (v 8) and προσέχετε (v 34).

² I appreciate Professor Mary Ann Tolbert for her suggestion that I should delve into the occurrence of changing horizons through the end-time discourse (Luke 21:5–36). She suggests that my observations of the repetitions in the discourse can be explained in a circular movement, developing in a form of spiral. I have found that such a rhetorical analysis can explain the repetitions—esp. the eight occurrences of ταῦτα—and *inclusio*, which I have observed in the text, better than analyses of chiasm or linear sequence. The *inclusio* can be hardly explained by chronological sequence. Chiasmic analysis also hardly addresses the dynamic change of horizons.

³ At the end of the third section (vv 10–33), not a single statement but a passage including Luke's commentary on “these things” (vv 28–33) concludes the descriptions of the end (vv 10–27).

⁴ In order to describe those for whom Luke wrote his Gospel and Acts, I use

embrace the entire eschatological process. In that way, the discourse educates the audience about more than they might initially expect. Such a development in repetition is observed also in the section on eschatological events (vv 10–33). The description of the end repeats (vv 10–11, 25–27) and develops in a form of spiral to show the nature of the last things, which is not simply a natural disaster but the judgment upon some group of people, including the persecutors. For the followers of Jesus, however, the coming Reign of God will be “redemption” (vv 28–33).

Before proceeding to an analysis of the rhetorical structure and the three significant themes of the end-time discourse—Luke’s view of his contemporary time, the chains of abuse and punishment, and the end of the Empire—I begin with the literary setting of the discourse in order to place the meaning of the end-time discourse in its context.

The conflict between two religious/political systems (Luke 19:45–21:38)

The end-time discourse (Luke 21:5–36) is the last part of Jesus’ longer instruction in the temple (20:1–21:36), which Jesus offers after he enters and cleanses the temple (19:45–46).⁵ The entire discourse in the temple (20:1–21:36) is enclosed by descriptions of Jesus’ daily pattern of activity (19:47–48; 21:37–38), showing Jesus teaching daily in the temple (19:47a; 21:37a) and spending his nights on the Mount of Olives (21:37b). Luke 20:1–21:36 describes what Jesus teaches on “one of the days” (20:1). The main audience of the discourse within the narrative is the disciples (20:45) and “all the people,” who “hang upon his words” (19:48b) and “come to the temple early in the morning to hear him” (21:38). On the other side, the Jerusalem leadership—including the chief priests, the scribes, the elders (20:1; or

the two terms “audience” and “reader” interchangeably. They were readers as audience, because the literatures of the Hellenistic age in general were written to be read aloud, written to be performed. While “reader” or “readers” indicates only Luke’s audience/reader in this dissertation, I use the term “audience” also to indicate Jesus’ audience, the characters in the narrative. Where confusion could occur in my use of the term, “audience,” I make it clear whether I mean Jesus’ audience or Luke’s audience.

⁵ While Mark separates the end-time discourse (Mark 13) from the preceding passages, changing the setting from the temple to the Mount of Olives (Mark 13:1, 3), there is no such change of setting in Luke. The end-time discourse (Luke 21:5–36) is a part of the entire discourse in the temple (Luke 20:1–21:36).

the “leaders” of the people, 19:47), their spies (20:20), and the Sadducees—is in conflict with Jesus and even seek to destroy him (19:47–48).⁶

The conflict between Jesus and the Jerusalem leadership is a major issue during his activity in the temple (19:45–21:38).⁷ In 19:47b–48a, Luke for the first time describes the Jerusalem leadership plotting to destroy Jesus,⁸ from which the conflict is gradually increased through and beyond the discourse in the temple to the passion narrative leading to the crucifixion of Jesus. The conflict develops through debates between Jesus and the leaders concerning three themes: authority (20:1–19), tribute to Caesar (20:20–26), and the coming age and resurrection (20:27–40).

“From heaven or from men?”

The first debate begins with the leaders questioning Jesus’ authority (ἐξουσία) to teach in the temple (20:1–2, 8). They attempt to discredit Jesus with their official authority over the temple. Jesus asks them back, whether the baptism of John was “from heaven or from men” (v 4). Although they do not believe that John’s baptism was from heaven,⁹ they are afraid to answer that its source was not divine because they realize that if they do, all the people will stone them. Two sources of authority are contrasted: the following debates imply

⁶ Among those who are in conflict with Jesus, the spies and the Sadducees recede from the scene after the debate on resurrection (20:27–40). Thus, the two main opponents of Jesus are the chief priests and the scribes (19:47; 20:19; 22:2), and the leaders (19:47), elders (20:1), and rulers of the people (23:13, 35) are in company with them. There could be disagreement concerning the exact distinction between these groups, but this concern is not serious to Luke, because all of them act as one character group in Luke 19:45–23:43.

⁷ For example, Blake Grangaard titles the whole “scene” between 19:47 and 21:38 as “Confrontation in the temple.” See his *Conflict and Authority in Luke 19:47 to 21:4* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 43–44. See also Jack Dean Kingsbury, *Conflict in Luke: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 97–101.

⁸ While in Mark, such a plot begins at an earlier stage of Jesus’ ministry in Galilee (Mark 3:6), Luke associates Jesus’ death only with Jerusalem (Luke 13:33; cf. 9:31; 18:31–34).

⁹ The leaders discuss it with one another, saying, “If we say, ‘from heaven,’ he will say, ‘Why did you not believe in him?’” (20:5). Their words imply that the Jerusalem leaders do not believe in the baptism of John. Luke’s description of these leaders connects them “to the earlier representatives of unbelief, the lawyers and Pharisees” (7:30). See Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke* (SPS 3; Collegeville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 304. In Luke 7:30, their refusal of baptism by John means that they *reject the purpose of God* for themselves.

that the authority of the Jerusalem leadership comes “from men,” while Jesus’ authority comes “from heaven.”¹⁰ The two kinds of authorities represent neither a metaphysical division between this world and the other world nor the division between politics and religion. Although they have different origins, they work on the same plane, i.e., in the realm of politics. In other words, the distinction is set up between the “politics of human origin” and the “politics of divine origin.” The parable (20:9–19) which follows illustrates how “the authority from men” operates through figuring the Jerusalem leadership as wicked tenants. The parable contains an eschatological description of the “coming” of the master (v 16). Contrary to the characters of other eschatological parables in Luke,¹¹ as John Nolland suggests, the tenants might mistakenly believe that “the owner can only deal with them from a distance, so that the destruction of the son and heir will release the vineyard for claim by possession.”¹² Jesus’ depiction of the tenants in the parable reveals the nature of the Jerusalem leadership as those who acknowledge neither the sovereignty of God nor the coming Reign of God; they have nothing to do with the authority from heaven.

Although the debate begins with questioning the nature and source of the authority of Jesus (20:2), it ends by undermining the authority of the Jerusalem leaders. The following debate on tribute to Caesar (Luke 20:20–26) would further disclose the truth about their authority. Their attempt to discredit Jesus by asserting their official authority having failed, the Jerusalem leaders try to appeal to a higher authority, which is not that of God but that of the “jurisdiction and authority of the governor” (ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ

¹⁰ Jack Dean Kingsbury also observes that, with Jesus’ question, “from heaven or from men,” Luke puts the matter of “authority” at the heart of conflict between Jesus and the Jerusalem leadership. See his *Conflict in Luke*, 81–82, 98. Jesus’ connection with John the Baptist, along with the source of authority, “from heaven or from men,” reminds what John Darr calls “the charismatic-versus-ruler convention.” Through his analysis of Luke 3:1–2a in relation to the infancy narratives, Darr observes that a tension is set up between the imperial rulers (3:1–2a), on the one hand, and Jesus and John the Baptist, both of whom “gain their legitimacy from the Holy Spirit, not from appointed or hereditary offices,” on the other. See John Darr, *Herod the Fox: Audience Criticism and Lukan Characterization* (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1998), 142–144.

¹¹ E.g., in the parable of good and evil stewards (Luke 12:42–48), the latter imagines that the master is delayed in coming.

¹² John Nolland, *Luke 18:35–24:53* (WBC 35C; Dallas, Tex.: Word Books, 1982), 954.

ἡγεμόνος, v 20). Their attempted appeal to Rome reveals that their concern for authority remains with “men.”¹³ They would believe that the authority over the temple comes from Rome, the source of power which acknowledges the tributary state’s high priesthood as a part of the imperial system (Luke 3:1–2). The Jerusalem leaders would expect that, if they compete with Jesus within the jurisdiction of the Roman governor, their success is guaranteed. Thus, they attempt to draw their opponent into the battlefield favorable to them: among “men,” without “heaven” involved. With the either/or question, “Is it lawful for us to give tribute to Caesar or not?” (20:22),¹⁴ the leaders attempt to divide all subjects of Rome simply into two groups, those who support the Empire and those who resist against it. To use modern terms, the leaders are now pressing Jesus to decide: “Are you anti-Roman or not? Say yes or no!” The question is a double-edged sword, if Jesus’ answer remains within the two choices, because each option would cause dissatisfaction to those who choose the other option. However, Jesus perceives their craftiness (v 23), and in the end, they are neither able to deliver him to Roman power (v 20) nor to belittle him in the eyes of the people (v 26).

Letting the spies produce a *denarius* they carry and asking them whose image and inscription it bears (v 24), Jesus reveals their real motives. If they actually carry and use the *denarius* with the image and inscription of Caesar on it, as Fitzmyer suggests, they acknowledge their dependence on the emperor.¹⁵ An interesting analogy is implied between this debate and the preceding parable (vv 9–19): just as their payment of “some of the fruit of the vineyard” (v 10)

¹³ Although they pretend to be seriously concerned about the law (vv 21) and ask whether it is *lawful* to render imperial tribute, they do not take the law seriously enough to observe its prohibitions against images (v 24). Richard J. Cassidy, *Jesus, Politics, and Society: A Study of Luke’s Gospel* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1978), 57.

¹⁴ The addition of “for us” is unique to Luke. In the specifically Lukan context, which is concerned with revealing the nature and source of the Jerusalem leadership, “for us” in the spies’ question (v 22) has a special force. By the addition of “for us,” Luke would intend their question and Jesus’ responses as concerning the legitimacy of the Jerusalem leadership. Thus, Jesus’ answer would be specifically aimed at their practice of tribute, not a general principal of church-state relationship. Johnson (*Gospel*, 311) maintains that, by the addition, Luke “shifts the question from a general proposition to one of practical pertinence.”

¹⁵ Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke (X–XXIV)* (AB 28A; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company: 1985), 1291. Before Fitzmyer, similar argument is presented by J. Spencer Kennard, Jr., *Render to God: A Study of the Tribute Passage* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), 123–125.

sustains the tenancy of the farmers, the steady operation of tribute to Caesar is one of the bases on which the priests' official control over Jerusalem is preserved by Rome. With the second half of the answer, "[Render] to God the things that are God's" (v 25), Jesus reminds the Jewish leaders of "the fruit of the vineyard" (20:10) they should pay to God.¹⁶ Thus, Luke contrasts their politics of human origin with the politics of God again. With this answer, Jesus, acting as the judge with authority, dismisses the appeal of the leaders by alluding to his first question, "from heaven or from men?" (20:4).¹⁷ Consequently, the leaders themselves, not Jesus, are entrapped by what they speak: they could not find any fault with Jesus but have only revealed that they are not serving God but depending on the power of the Roman governor (v 20). Therefore, they marvel at his answer and become silent (v 26).

Luke evades providing an answer to the question of binary division, whether Jesus is pro- or anti-Roman. Even though Luke disapproves of the Jerusalem leadership, implying that its authority comes from Rome, not from God, it does not seem that Jesus in Luke forbids the questioners from giving tribute to Caesar.¹⁸ The concluding statement of the passage, "they were not able to catch him by what he said (20:26)," implies that the Jerusalem leadership

¹⁶ Nolland also observes "the link between the owner's share of the crop in the preceding parable and the rendering to God." See his *Luke*, 961. Grangaard (*Conflict*, 107 and 151 n. 106) contends that Nolland does not specify what the "rendering" should be. Grangaard suggests, "the rendering of 'the things of God to God' means acknowledging Jesus as the Son of God." Grangaard's christological interpretation, however, does not properly consider that the leaders (and their spies) have not understood that Jesus is the son of the master in the parable yet (22:70). That they "marveled" at Jesus' answer (v 26) implies that they perceived something.

¹⁷ The verb ἀποδιδόναι—literally, "to give back" to its origin—in the statement (v 25) highlights Luke's concern with the source of power. Although Kingsbury correctly sees the conflict between the two sources of authorities, he does not consider the Jerusalem leadership's dependence on the Roman Empire at all. See his *Conflict*, 79–107.

¹⁸ Tolbert observes, in her study of synoptic parallel (Mark 12:13–17), that a literary technique of enthymeme is used in Jesus' answer: "two enthymemes, one overt and one implied, derived from the same suppressed major premise." From the major premise that whatever bears the image and inscription of someone belongs to that one, an overt minor premise that a *denarius* carries Caesar's image and inscription (20:24) and another implied minor premise that human beings are in the image of God (Gen 1:26–28) are induced. Both premises produce double conclusion (20:25). See her further explanation against the background of Greco-Roman literatures in *Sowing the Gospel: Mark's World in Literary Historical Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 251.

fails to prove any anti-Roman fault with Jesus' teaching. Luke does not encourage disobedience to Rome. And yet, Luke is hardly pro-Roman, because he uses the connection to Rome to denounce the Jerusalem leadership for its "authority from men." He neither blames Rome directly nor advocates resistance to the Empire.

Such equivocalness in Luke's view of Rome has produced diverse interpretations of the debate on tribute to Caesar. While some scholars argue that Jesus recommends imperial tribute, others maintain that Jesus forbids it or avoids politics altogether.¹⁹ My contention is that these interpretations mostly attempt a rationalizing explanation, which would dissolve the ambiguity in Luke's position and the tension between the two halves of the statement (Luke 20:25). To support their views of a pro-Roman or anti-Roman Jesus, some scholars assume a metaphysical division between political and spiritual realms, whether the two realms are parallel and separate or one is absolute and higher than the other. Others lay stress on the second half of Jesus' answer, "Render to God," by arguing that this statement nullifies the first half of the answer, "Render to Caesar." Or they translate the verb ἀποδιδόναι literally as "to give back," meaning that all coins should be returned to Caesar.²⁰

Contrary to such attempts to read one part of the verse against the other, however, Luke does not separate religion from politics, both of which would describe the Jewish leaders and Romans respectively. "If Jesus' questioners and listeners all assumed such a separation of Caesar and God into utterly separate spheres," as Richard Horsley correctly points out, "then how could the question have possibly been part of a strategy to entrap Jesus?"²¹ Joel Green's description of both religious and political characteristics of both Jewish authorities and the Roman Empire is also useful in this respect:

The Jewish authorities exercise a political leadership that is religiously legitimated; hence, to undermine their religious views is to subvert

¹⁹ I argue that Luke evades the question of whether Jesus is pro- or anti-Roman, but my position is different from the argument that Jesus avoids politics, the position which is based on a binary division between politics and religion. This position evades discussion of the political meaning of Jesus' statement, but I argue that Jesus' answer is political.

²⁰ For surveys of scholarly positions on imperial tribute, see footnote 139 in pages 83–85.

²¹ Richard A. Horsley, *Jesus and Empire: The Kingdom of God and the New World Disorder* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 12.

their politics. The same is true for the Roman Empire—both as Luke has presented it and as is evident from Roman propaganda. The “peace of Rome” was a consequence of divine sanction, so that the Roman ethos itself possessed a religious quality. To deviate from Roman social order was not only to invoke shame on oneself, then, but to violate the sacred. The “household” that was the Roman Empire was instituted and validated by the gods.²²

Rather than separating religion from politics, Luke contrasts two political/religious systems in conflict with each other, one based upon the power “from men” and the other upon the power “from heaven.” I suggest that Luke describes the Romans and the Jewish authorities re-presenting the religious/political system that worships Caesar and supports “nationalist”²³ religion of the empire, while Jesus’ allegiance is to the religious/political system that worships God (Israel’s God) and supports universal salvation of all, including margins and rebels (cf., e.g., Luke 1:76–79; 2:30–32; 6:15).

From such a scheme, Luke describes the Jewish leadership both as a “religious” authority and as a “secular,” “political” power.²⁴ The

²² Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1997), 798–799.

²³ It would be anachronistic to use the term, “nationalism,” to describe an ancient near Eastern phenomenon, because nation-ness and nationalism are European inventions that came into existence toward the end of the eighteenth century. However, the relationship between nationalism and imperialism/colonialism observed in modern era could be useful to understand the ancient Palestinian history. As shown in the present reality where the US imperialism coincides with patriotism or nationalism, imperialism/colonialism is understood as a worldwide expansion of nationalism. Therefore, Benedict Anderson, in his *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 86, calls the “official nationalism” as “willed merger of nation and dynastic empire.” It is generally acknowledged by liberal historians that “the formative lessons of nationalism were literally acquired in the colonial classroom through the teaching and transmission of European national histories.” See Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 114.

²⁴ The possibility that Luke thinks of the city of Jerusalem as a free “polis” supports the “political” nature of the Jewish “religious” leaders. As Conzelmann, *Theology*, 70, suggests, the Sanhedrin in the passion narrative could be taken for the city council of a free city. The phrase “Judea and Jerusalem” (e.g., 6:17) reminds that typically a polis in the eastern empire consisted of an urban center and surrounding villages. When a place was granted by the emperor the status of polis, the people were allowed to appoint (or, in the case of an established city, to continue to appoint) a council (βουλή), which managed local laws, and to elect their own magistrates. Polis usually had a citizen assembly (ἐκκλησία), but under the Romans, it was increasingly subject to council. See Colin J. Hemer and Conrad H. Gemph, ed., *The Books of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1989), 115, 119, 121, 122–123, 153 with n. 152. See also Steve Walton, “The State They

political role of the Jewish leaders is quite evident in their description. The leaders never appeal to God or even to the sacredness of the temple but to the power of Rome. Even their “religious” devotion, including fasting, tithe, and prayer, is aimed at human acknowledgement (Luke 20:47; cf. 18:12). In every case, the leaders claim the status quo—first the control over the temple and next the system of tribute, both of which are placed at the center of the colonial regime—supported by the political/religious system of Roman Empire, while Jesus reminds them of the politics and religion of God.

Luke's construction of space: the temple as the space of Jesus

It is remarkable that Luke situates the religion/politics of Jesus' God on a particular place on earth, not on a transcendental or spiritual realm. In Luke 19:45–21:38, the temple re-presents the political/religious space of God, where Jesus has power. The predominance of Jesus in the temple is demonstrated by his command of the people. They were a buffer between Jesus and the leaders so that the authorities even fear the people (19:48; 20:19, 26; 22:2). On the contrary, the leaders have most power in the space outside the temple, especially in the city of Jerusalem (Luke 22:54–23:56), where they have influence over the people, who support the leaders even in compelling Pilate to crucify Jesus (23:18, 23–25).

Massey's theorization of “the spatial,” which I have discussed in Chapter One,²⁵ provides a useful reference for understanding Luke's “construction of space” or his “production of space.”²⁶ As discussed, Luke presents the temple as the space where Jesus has power, in relation to the people and to the Jerusalem leadership in particular. The temple constructed by Luke should hardly be described just as a place, because he connects Jesus' power in the temple to a particular time, i.e., a particular period described in Luke 19:45–21:38. Such power of Jesus does not work in the time of those who arrest Jesus and in the power of darkness (Luke 22:53).²⁷ Furthermore,

Were in: Luke's View of the Roman Empire,” in *Rome in the Bible and in the Early Church* (ed. Peter Oakes; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2002), 14.

²⁵ See pages 8–11.

²⁶ Henri Lefebvre emphasizes that “(social) space is a (social) product” [parentheses are the author's]. See his *The Production of Space* (trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 1991), 26.

²⁷ Cf. In Acts, although the followers of Jesus attend the temple (2:46) and the apostles teach in the temple (5:20), the Jewish authorities overpower them (5:26ff.).

Luke does not simply identify the temple buildings with the space of Jesus. As highlighted in Stephen's speech in Acts, "the Most High does not dwell in places made with human hands" (Acts 7:48). The "noble stones and offerings" shall be destroyed (Luke 21:5–6). Although the "place" does not deserve God's presence, the temple is still the "space" of religion/politics of God manifested by Jesus' command over it.²⁸

Luke's identification of the Jerusalem leadership in terms of Roman imperial religion may hardly represent history; it should be recognized as Luke's polemic or rhetoric of denunciation, with which Luke de-legitimizes the authority of his opponents. Luke would argue that, because the Jerusalem leaders do not have the authority "from heaven," they do not deserve the authority over the temple, which is the house of God (2:49) and the house of prayer (19:46). There is no evidence that Luke, written 10–20 years after Mark, is closer to history than the Gospel of Mark, in which Jesus is accused of the *desecration* of the temple (Mark 14:57–58). Because the cult and taxation of the temple was the most significant foundation of their power, it is hard to think that the Jewish leaders could easily give up legitimating their privilege with native religious understandings. The rhetoric of Luke would be most persuasive to an audience, for whom authority from heaven and Israel's God is considered higher than the religion of empire and emperors. If this is so, Luke's audience intended in the polemic would be Jewish religious community perhaps outside Palestine, rather than the Roman Empire.²⁹ Such rhetoric implies that Luke's goal is political at least in part, because he attempts to undermine the power of the imperial opponents.³⁰

Although the leaders are still afraid of the people, the apostles' power is not the same as that of Jesus in the temple, because they are arrested by the temple guards and brought to the council.

²⁸ For my further discussion of Luke's narrative production of space and Luke's distinction between the temple and the city of Jerusalem, see the following chapter, especially pages 148–157.

²⁹ I am not arguing that Luke's implied audience could be constructed solely based on that rhetoric. Nevertheless, this reasoning from Luke's polemic undermines the hypothesis of *political apology*, according to which Luke's intended audience was Rome. Concerning this theory, refer to my discussion in the previous chapter, especially in pages 73–76.

³⁰ Luke himself also depends on the official authority of the Roman governor in order to exonerate Jesus (23:1–25). I will discuss Luke's political characteristics more in the following sections.

An eschatological solution

In Luke's polemic, the things that belong to Caesar and the things that belong to God are in tension with each other. The tension between the two kinds of religious/political systems could be dissolved only by the coming of the master (20:15), i.e., by the eschatological solution. The coming Reign of God will demonstrate that all things belong to God, and the Jerusalem leadership that rejects the sovereignty of God will have no share at the end. Luke's description of the end involves such a reordering of power.³¹ The following debate on the coming age (20:27–40) involves eschatology more directly than the two preceding debates. Their repeated attempts to defend the privilege “from men” having failed, the Jewish leaders change to the offensive: they attack the logic of “heaven” in Jesus' scheme by questioning the reasoning of resurrection and the age to come (20:27–40).

In Luke-Acts, the Jerusalem leadership consists of both those who believe in resurrection and those who deny the life after death.³² Nevertheless, in this passage, Luke highlights the leadership's ignorance and unworthiness of the coming age (vv 34–35). The Sadducees appear only in this passage in Luke and do not play a major role in the entire plot against Jesus. It implies the specific narrative function of the Sadducees to highlight the Jerusalem leadership's ignorance of the coming Reign of God. With the questions on resurrection, the Jerusalem leadership, this time represented by the Sadducees, reveals itself *not worthy* to attain to *the coming age* (vv 34–35). The idea of the two ages, along with the distinction between “the sons of *this age*” (οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου) and “those who are accounted worthy to attain to *that age*” (οἱ . . . καταξιωθέντες τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐκείνου τυχεῖν), does not appear in the parallel passages in other gospels but only in Luke 20:34–35. Luke modifies the debate with the Sadducees

³¹ “A reordering of power” is the title of Herman Waetjen's book, where he studies the Gospel of Mark against the background of Jewish apocalypticism. See his *A Reordering of Power: A Socio-Political Reading of Mark's Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989).

³² Luke is aware that there is a disagreement concerning the resurrection of the dead between the Pharisees and the Sadducees (Acts 23:6–10). He considers the scribes, some of whom approve Jesus in the debate on resurrection (20:39), having the same opinion on resurrection with the Pharisees (Acts 23:9). On the other hand, in Acts (4:1; 5:17), the party of the Sadducees supports the high priest.

not just concerning a single theme, “resurrection,” but also including wider issues on the two ages.

Jesus in Luke finalizes the debate on the coming age (vv 27–40), and thus all the three debates (20:1–40),³³ with a riddle on Christ and David (20:41–44). The riddle re-presents another contrast between the nationalist religion of empire and the universal religion of God, a contrast between David, a nationalist emperor, and Christ the Lord, an eschatological king who is seated at the right hand of God until the enemies of Christ are made his footstool (vv 42–43).³⁴ Through the riddle, Luke distinguishes the nationalist hope of the restoration of Israel, which would be an imitation of Roman domination, from the universal Reign of God, a reign of service which is an alternative to the Empire (Luke 22:24–30; Acts 1:6–8).³⁵ Consequently, the Sadducees’ challenge to the coming age ends up with confirmation of God’s eschatological plan, which is given a concrete shape in the end-time discourse (21:5–36).

Narrative conclusion: ethics of the two religions/politics (20:45–21:4)

The following two passages (20:45–47; 21:1–4) conclude the first half of Jesus’ discourse in the temple (Luke 20:1–21:4) by comparing the ethics of the two religious/political systems. Fridolin Keck suggests that Luke 20:45 should be considered as a beginning of a new section. There is a change of audience at 20:45, as the leaders are not the audience of his instruction any longer, but Jesus speaks to his disciples in the hearing of all the people. Keck also observes a parallelism

³³ The direct confrontation between Jesus and the Jerusalem leadership through the debates is resumed at the Sanhedrin’s inquiry of Jesus (22:66–71). The leaders ask Jesus if he is “Christ” (v 67), to which Jesus answers that the Son of Man “will be seated at the right hand of the power of God” (v 69). The title “Christ” and the image of “seated at the right hand of God” come from the riddle (20:41–44). The second question with surprise of *all* of them, “Are you the Son of God, then?” (v 70), shows that they eventually puzzle out what Jesus said at the debates (20:1–44): Jesus is the son of the tenants in the parable (20:9–19) and Christ who is seated at the right hand of God until his enemies are made his footstool (20:43)! Therefore, it is not surprising that they say, “What further testimony do we need? We have heard it ourselves from his own lips” (v 71).

³⁴ Luke’s distinction between Jesus and David could also illuminate the “omission of the Davidic Lordship” from Jesus’ Entry into the temple (Luke 19:38), contrary to Conzelmann who argues that it is Luke’s portrayal of “emphatically non-political Christology.” See Conzelmann, *Theology*, 75.

³⁵ For my further discussion of the reign of service (Luke 22:24–30), see the following chapter, pages 161–169.

between the two occurrences of προσέχετε (“take heed,” 20:46; 21:34) and argues that the two warnings led by “take heed” (20:46–47 and 21:34–36) form an *inclusio*.³⁶ However, Keck’s analysis of the *inclusio* is not fully convincing, because the two “take heed” passages contain two different themes. While the former (20:46–47) contrasts ethics of the two religious/political systems, the latter (21:34–36) prepares the audience for the end of the world. Rather than forming an *inclusio*, I suggest that each of the two passages in parallel provides a conclusion of two halves of Jesus’ discourse in the temple: one treating the conflict between the two systems highlighted by Jesus’ debate with the Jerusalem leadership (20:1–21:4) and the other concentrated on eschatological themes (21:5–36).

Moreover, the repeated appearance of the scribes connects Jesus’ warning of them (Luke 20:45–47) to the preceding passages: the scribes appear at the end of Jesus’ debate with the Sadducees (20:39), and their biblical interpretation—which mistakenly identifies the religion/politics of David with that of Christ—is refuted by Jesus (vv 41–44). The scribes are Luke’s model for the ethic of imperial religion, exemplified as a representative of the Jerusalem leadership as a whole. Through the preceding debates, a group of characters represent the entire leadership of Jerusalem: the spies in the debate on tribute to Caesar (vv 20–26), the Sadducees in the debate on the coming age (vv 27–39), and the scribes in this passage (20:45–47).³⁷ The depiction of the scribes (vv 46–47) characterizes them in ways parallel to the Jewish leaders Jesus encounters outside of Jerusalem. As Blake Grangaard observes, such characteristics include their “desire to be accorded a high status” (v 46; cf. 16:15; 18:9), their appetite of “being greeted in the marketplace and of sitting in the place of honor in the synagogue” (v 46; cf. 11:43), their search of “the seat of honor at dinners” (v 46; cf. 14:7), and their hypocrisy in their

³⁶ See Fridolin Keck, *Die öffentliche Abschiedsrede Jesu in Lk 20:45–21:36: Eine redaktions- und motingsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Stuttgart: Verlagen Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1976), 29–32; 42–44.

³⁷ Although he fails to see the connection with religion/politics of empire, Joel Green correctly observes that the ultimate charge Jesus lays against the scribes is not just their behavior as a separate group but also their participation in a certain social system. Green, *Gospel*, 725, maintains that Jesus rebukes them for “their participation in behaviors and their perpetuation of a system that victimizes widows, counted among the weakest members of society, whom both law and leadership were to protect.” Italic is mine.

worship (v 47; cf. 12:1; 18:9–12). Contrary to Grangaard, however, the description of the scribes devouring widows' houses (v 47) would hardly be in parallel with 9:48 (on accepting a child) or 16:14 (the Pharisees' love of money).³⁸ The exploitation of widows (20:47) should be better compared with an eschatological saying (18:1–8), where Jesus illustrates another widow asking a judge to avenge (ἐκδικεῖν) her adversary and promises that God will take vengeance (ἐκδίκησις) for his elect quickly (18:7–8), probably “when the Son of Man comes” (18:8).³⁹ It is remarkable that the two Greek terms of vengeance, ἐκδικεῖν and ἐκδίκησις, occur only in two passages within Luke (Luke 18:3, 5, 7, 8; 21:22; cf. Acts 7:24): in the story of a widow and a judge (18:1–8) and in the eschatological description of the desolation of Jerusalem, the headquarters of the leadership (21:20–24). By mentioning greater judgment upon the scribes (20:47), Luke's presentation of ethics prepares for the following end-time discourse (21:5–36).

The elevated social status of the scribes and Jesus' warning of their concern with status honor is contrasted with Jesus' instruction that his disciples should be like the youngest and one who serves, the instruction Jesus gives at the Passover meal (22:24–30). The widow rather than the scribes fits the alternative model Jesus presents, because they are among the “youngest,” i.e., the socially weakest, and among women who usually “serve at the table.” The term, “widow” (χήρα), connects Jesus' warning of the scribes (20:45–47) with the following passage (21:1–4), establishing a contrast between two kinds of ethics.⁴⁰ While in the preceding passage (20:45–47) the

³⁸ Grangaard, *Conflict*, 164.

³⁹ In the context of the story (Luke 18:1–14, esp. vv 7–8, 10–12), a widow's cry is contrasted with the Pharisees' hypocritical prayer.

⁴⁰ Green and others argue that what is described in 20:1–4 is Jesus' laments for “the travesty of a religious system,” in which the wealthy “benefactors” devour this widow's livelihood (20:47), rather than “a counterexample, pitting the concern with status honor evident among legal experts over against the sacrificial generosity of the widow.” Green maintains that “in no way does Luke suggest that Jesus finds the widow's action exemplary or praiseworthy.” However, this interpretation would fit better for Mark, which has a strong anti-temple motif, rather than Luke, in which the temple is presented as an ideal space for the religion/politics of God. See Green, *Gospel*, 728. See also Addison G. Wright, “The Widow's Mites: Praise or Lament?—A Matter of Context,” *CBQ* 44 (1982): 256–265; Fitzmyer, *Gospel*, 1321; David L. Tiede, *Luke* (ACNT; Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1988), 354–355; Frederick W. Danker, *Jesus and the New Age* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 328; and Sharon Ringe, *Luke* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 250.

example of the widows shows how the ethic of imperial religion victimizes others, the following passage (21:1–4) contrasts a widow with the rich in order to highlight the ethic of the reign of God. In Luke, the widow is a model not only of victims, along with the widow in the court of the evil judge (18:1–8), but also of genuine devotion, especially in relation to the temple. Anna, the prophetess, is another example of devotion Luke describes. Until she encounters the baby Jesus, Anna stays within the temple, “the house of prayer” (19:46). She demonstrates the piety proper to the temple by worshiping God with fasting and prayer (2:36–37).⁴¹ In the same vein, Jesus singles out the widow (20:1–4) who demonstrates that she does not rely on the power of money, the foundation of the political/religious system of empire (cf. the second debate on the imperial tribute in 20:20–26), by giving out her last coin to the temple.

In summary, Luke 20:1–21:4 provides some significant information helpful to understanding the end-time discourse (21:5–36). Through the debates (20:1–40), Luke illustrates the Jerusalem leadership in allegiance with Roman imperial religion and politics, drawing their authority “from men,” and points out their real master. The Jewish authorities do not acknowledge the sovereignty of Jesus’ God but depend on Rome, exercising their power of imperial religion in violent (vv 10–15) and exploitative ways (v 47). Jesus’ authority “from heaven” is now in tension with the religion/politics of empire. Rome as the source of the power of Jerusalem leadership is explicitly involved in the tension only in an indirect way. Luke neither denounces Rome nor forbids tribute to Caesar, but he criticizes the Jerusalem leadership’s dependence on the Empire. The tension between the two systems of religion/politics will be dissolved in the coming of the Reign of God, which will result in the replacement of tenants (v 16), the subjection of the enemies (v 43), and probably the vengeance for the widows (v 47; cf. 18:8). Luke further develops such eschatological and political ideas in the end-time discourse.

⁴¹ For further studies of widows in Luke-Acts, see Robert M. Price, *The Widow Traditions in Luke-Acts: A Feminist-Critical Scrutiny* (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars, 1997). Price follows the position that Luke-Acts was written in the second-century.

*Introducing the end-time discourse (21:5–7)**The temple in the discourse*

And as some were speaking about the temple, how it was adorned with beautiful stones and offerings, [Jesus] said. (Luke 21:5)

While the debates begin with the Jerusalem leadership questioning Jesus' authority to teach in the temple (20:1–2), the end-time discourse begins with some unidentified speakers describing the splendor of the temple buildings (21:5).⁴² Luke does not indicate who speaks and questions Jesus (v 5a, 7a). Although Jesus addresses the disciples (20:45), they are probably not the speakers and questioners intended here. Whereas these speakers call Jesus "teacher" (διδάσκαλε, 21:7), the disciples in Luke never use that title for Jesus. Rather, they call him "master" (ἐπιστάτα, 5:5; 8:24, 45; 9:33, 49; cf. 17:13).⁴³ Just as the Jewish leaders are proven not to deserve the control over the temple, the unidentified speakers' concern with the luxury of the temple buildings will be demonstrated as improper.

Jesus responds to the speakers, "These things that you see: The days will come, in which not one stone will be left upon another that will not be thrown down" (Luke 21:6). The statement of Jesus suggests Luke's unique understanding of the space, the temple. For Luke, the destruction does not concern the space as a whole but only "these things" that the audiences "see" (v 6a). Luke distinguishes the space from what they see.⁴⁴ It does not mean that Luke moves the temple into a metaphysical realm, separating it from its physicality and visibility, because what matters in the narrative are the power relations evolving around the political control over the space. Rather, Luke would attempt to peel off the false appearance of the

⁴² However, Luke 21:5–36 is not clearly divided from the preceding passages, especially from Luke 20:45–21:4. Luke does not move to another setting as Mark 13:1 does, and the preceding instructions provide thematic background for the end-time discourse (Luke 21:5–36). Although there is no change of place as in the parallel passage (Mark 13:1), Luke sets a new stage, moving the gaze of the audience from the treasury (21:1–4) up to the temple building (21:5). In addition, Luke 21:5–36 has its own complete literary structure, which distinguishes it from the preceding passages. I will discuss the structure in the section titled "The rhetorical structure of the discourse."

⁴³ Henry J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (London: SPCK, 1958), 228. Note that Luke removes "the disciples" from the parallel passage in Mark 13:1.

⁴⁴ Again, Massey's distinction of space from place would be helpful to understand Luke's construction of the space. See my discussion in pages 10–13.

temple.⁴⁵ A redactional analysis may be helpful to an understanding of how Luke constructs the space. In the Gospel parallel in Mark, the word “building” occurs two times: “One of his disciples was saying to him, ‘Look, teacher, what wonderful stones and what wonderful *buildings!*’ And Jesus said to him, ‘Do you see these great *buildings?*?’” (Mark 13:1b–2a). Luke omits both occurrences of “building.” His omission implies that he connects “these things” directly to the “beautiful stones and offerings” with which the temple is adorned (Luke 21:5). Thus, the following statements on the destruction involve only “beautiful stone” (Luke 21:6b). In sum, the destruction concerns the luxury rather than the temple as a whole or only its materiality.

The “beautiful stones and offerings” recall the gifts (τὰ δῶρα) of the rich to the temple treasury, which is described in the preceding passage (Luke 21:1). The word “offering” (ἀναθήμα) means “what is set up” and “often used of ornaments set up in temples.”⁴⁶ It also refers to “votive offerings made by the wealthy devout for the adornment of the temple,”⁴⁷ one of which would be exemplified by the rich in 21:1. By relating the splendor of the temple to the behavioral pattern of imperial religion (20:45–21:4) and connecting the destruction to the resplendent ornaments, I suggest, Luke attempts to winnow (or peel off) the trace of imperial religion/politics out of the space Jesus controls. In Luke’s words, it is to mop up those who “made the temple a den of robbers” (19:46). Therefore, in Luke’s understanding, the destruction of the temple buildings does not mean any disaster to the space itself but only the eradication of imperial religion/politics.

While Mark portrays Jesus and his disciples coming out of the temple and sitting on the Mount of Olives over against it (Mark 13:1–37), a setting which frames the whole passage in opposition to the temple, Luke designs the end-time discourse (21:5–36) as the continuation of the larger discourse in the temple (20:1–21:36). Such a change of setting to the temple itself⁴⁸ removes an appositional

⁴⁵ For the usefulness of the concept of space in overcoming the dichotomy of physical vs. metaphysical see page 9.

⁴⁶ Fitzmyer, *Gospel*, 1331.

⁴⁷ Johnson, *Gospel*, 320.

⁴⁸ Accurately speaking, Luke does not move to another narrative setting, while Mark does. Such a consistency of setting connects the end-time discourse with the preceding passages, especially with the theme “conflict.”

association between Jesus' discourse and the temple. Jesus in Luke is not antagonistic to the temple. For Luke, the temple is not a subject of eschatological judgment or rejection. While Mark 13 is mainly concerned with the destruction of the temple, which Mark directly relates to the end of the world, Luke relates the destruction more with the city of Jerusalem rather than with the temple. He omits the mention of "the desolating sacrilege" (Mark 13:14) and generalizes the parable of fig tree by adding "all the trees" (Luke 21:29). Luke literarily constructs the temple as the space where Jesus teaches, while the Mount of Olives is the space of prayer by night. After Jesus enters the temple and takes possession of it,⁴⁹ the Jerusalem leadership does not hold the power over this space any longer. On the contrary, Jesus' authority in the temple is demonstrated by his own instructions and championed by the people who are gathering around him. Because the Jerusalem leadership fears the people, they cannot harm Jesus (19:47–48; 20:6, 19).

"The days are coming": from the temple to eschatology

Although Luke introduces the end-time discourse (21:5–36) by calling the audience's attention to the splendor of the temple buildings (v 5), the discourse does not stay within the theme of the temple.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Conzelmann's observation is remarkable in that Jesus in Luke cleanses the temple and takes possession of it as his place of teaching. He maintains, "Mark's criticism of the cult from the eschatological standpoint is greatly modified. In Luke, it is not a question of the eschatological end of the Temple, but of its cleansing; in other words, Jesus prepares it as somewhere he can stay, and from now on, he occupies it as a place belonging to him. The Cleansing is no longer an eschatological sign, but a means of taking possession, and therefore of itself it has no significance." See his *Theology*, 77–79.

⁵⁰ Luke 21 has been excessively related to the destruction of the temple, either in relation to the end or as the rejection of Judaism. Conzelmann attempts to disconnect Luke 21 from eschatology by arguing that Luke makes the teaching on the end of the world, which Mark 13 describes, into a teaching on the end of the temple. Instead of eschatology, he maintains that Luke connects the 70 CE event with a refutation of Judaism: "With the Church in mind, the claim of the Jews is refuted. Their appeal to the Temple and to tradition is unfounded. As *since the rejection and death of Jesus* they occupy the Temple unlawfully, it is quite just that it should be taken from them by destruction, as chapter 21 makes plain. This destruction is the clear refutation of Judaism, and is not an eschatological event. In the hands of the Jews the Temple is merely a profane building." See his *Theology*, 78. [Italics are mine.] His argument supposes a series of contests for the temple: the temple is first occupied by the Jewish authorities; Jesus takes possession of the place by entering and cleansing it; the Jews regain the lost territory after they execute Jesus; finally, God destroys the temple. However, Conzelmann's assumption is not supported by

As regards the eschatological judgment, I will argue that Luke is concerned more with the city of Jerusalem (vv 20–24) than with the temple.⁵¹ However, even the desolation of Jerusalem (vv 20–24) is not the main concern of Luke but occupies a secondary place in the discourse, serving as the characteristic event of the penultimate period. The discourse rapidly shifts away from concern with the temple to expand the horizon of the audience into God's master plan of eschatological salvation, which embraces the past of the 70 CE event (the war with Rome and the temple's destruction), the present of the audience, and the future of the coming Reign of God.

The second half of Jesus' statements in v 6b ("The days are coming, in which not one stone will be left upon another that will not be thrown down") has an emphasis on the "days" (ἡμέραι), the period in which the disaster takes place, rather than on the destruction itself.⁵² Similarly, the only passage in the discourse where Luke describes the desolation of Jerusalem (21:20–24) is full of terms indicating a certain period of time: the "days of vengeance" (ἡμέραι ἐκδικήσεως, v 22), "those days" (ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις, v 23) and "the times of the Gentiles" (καίροι ἐθνῶν, v 24). For Luke, the desolation of Jerusalem is significant in relation to a period of "time."⁵³

Luke's description of the events after Jesus' death. Jesus believers are still gathering at the temple and gaining the favor of the people (Acts 2:46), and even "a great many of the priests became obedient to the faith" (Acts 6:7). It is not until Acts 6:13 that some Freedmen Jews set up false witness that Stephen speaks against the temple. As J. Bradley Chance correctly observes, "the temple played a central role in the life of the community in the early chapters of Acts (2:46; 3:1–3, 5; 5:20–21, 42). Even in the later chapters, "Paul made the necessary offering at the temple in relation to the Nazarite vow" (Acts 21:23–26). See Chance, *Jerusalem, the Temple, and the New Age in Luke-Acts* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1988), 36, 57.

⁵¹ I depart from Chance (*Jerusalem*, 115), who argues that Luke does not distinguish the temple from the city of Jerusalem. See also, Michael Bachmann, *Jerusalem und der Tempel: Die geographische-theologische Elemente in der lukanischen Sicht des jüdischen Kultzentrums*, (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1980), 13–66. Contrary to Chance and Bachmann, the temple and the city have different place in the power relationship between Jesus and the Jerusalem authorities. Jesus teaches in the temple, where the Jewish leaders fear the people who support Jesus (Luke 20–21). However, in the city of Jerusalem, the Jewish authorities cooperate with Roman Pilate to crucify Jesus, and the people remain silent and even support the leaders (Luke 22–23).

⁵² Josef Zmijewski also observes that the coming of the "days" suggests an eschatological setting. See his *Die Eschatologiereden des Lukas-Evangeliums: Eine traditions- und redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Lk 21,5–36 und Lk 17,20–37* (Bonn, Germany: Peter Hanstein Verlag GMBH Bonn, 1972), 93–95.

⁵³ Redactionally speaking, by adding the phrase "the days will come" to its Markan source (13:2), Luke makes the statement on the temple into a saying on times.

The temporal formula in v 24, “until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled,” which is followed by the description of the end (vv 25–27), indicates a span of time continuing to the end, which is longer than a point of time around the 70 CE event.⁵⁴ I suggest that Jesus’ statement in v 6b characterizes the discourse (21:5–36) as an instruction for the audience who are living in the days before the end. Luke warns the audience that the penultimate time is probably longer than some of them might expect (v 9cd), though the end is still near (vv 28–31). It is an unstable (vv 8–9b) and painful (vv 12–19) time for Jesus’ followers. Until the end, “this generation,” who are against God,⁵⁵ will continue to have power (vv 32–33). Therefore, Luke attempts to encourage the audience to endure (v 19) by showing them that the painful time is in the plan of God (Jesus foretold it!) and the end is near.

Along with the “days” (v 6b), the repeated occurrence of ταῦτα connects vv 5–7 to the discourse proper (vv 8–36), because the following passage is Jesus’ answer to the questions on “these things” (v 7): “when will *these things* (ταῦτα) be, and what will be the sign when *these things* (ταῦτα) are about to take place?” Joseph Fitzmyer and others argue that the two occurrences of ταῦτα (v 7) refer to the destruction of the temple and do not include the things of the end. Fitzmyer claims that the end-time discourse has no reference to the things of the end,⁵⁶ but does not give a satisfactory explanation as to why Jesus’ answer to the questions includes the theme of the coming of the Son of Man initiated by cosmic signs (vv 25–27).⁵⁷

⁵⁴ The “desolation” (ἐρήμωσις, v 20) would not only mean the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE but also the resulted situation after that (v 24).

⁵⁵ For a discussion of “this generation,” see later in this chapter pages 127–129.

⁵⁶ They emphasize that Luke substitutes ταῦτα γίνεσθαι (“*these things* to take place,” v 7) for ταῦτα συντελεῖσθαι πάντα (“all *these things* to be accomplished,” Mark 13:4) in order to preclude association with the eschatological fulfillment (Fitzmyer, *Gospel*, 1331). Concerning this position that “these things” (v 7) refers only to the destruction of the temple, see also Conzelmann, *Theology*, 126; Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News according to Luke* (tr. David E. Green; Atlanta, Ga.: John Knox, 1984), 314; E. Earle Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke* (NCB; Greenwood, S.C.: The Attic Press, 1974), 243; Johnson, *Gospel*, 325; and Stephen L. Bridge, *Where the Eagle are Gathered: The Deliverance of the Elect in Lukan Eschatology* (Sheffield: Academic Press, 2003). Bridge argues that Luke relegates a substantial amount of eschatological material from the end-time discourse to Luke 17:22–37. By concentrating on the end times in 17:22–27, he continues, “Luke is able to devote 21:5–36 more exclusively to the destruction of Jerusalem and the events surrounding it” (xvii).

⁵⁷ Fitzmyer himself says that, in vv 25–28, Jesus in Luke “moves on to another

Nor does he attend to the absence of the temple in the following passage. Fitzmyer and others simply identify the destruction of the temple with the desolation of Jerusalem (vv 20–24) and fail to observe Luke’s separation of the temple from the city of Jerusalem properly. A second group of scholars, including Joel Green, drawing on evidence from the Second Temple period for a correlation between the motifs of the destruction (and possible rebuilding) of the temple and of the coming of the *eschaton*, suggests that “reference to ‘these things’ may accommodate eschatological connotations as well.”⁵⁸ Still, even these scholars define an either/or choice between the end of the temple and the end of the world. They do not consider the period between the two points of history. While it seems that Fitzmyer focuses on Luke’s use of ταῦτα within the opening three verses (vv 5–6), Green attends to the entire discourse, where “these things” include more than the destruction of the temple. However, neither of them observes the expansion of horizons that appears along with Luke’s repeated use of ταῦτα throughout the discourse.

The grammatical difficulty of the two occurrences of ταῦτα (v 7) should also be considered. What the *neuter plural* pronoun refers to is not clear. Jesus’ statement in v 6b is concerned only with the ἡμέραι, a *feminine* noun, and the *single* event of the destruction of the temple: “the days will come, in which not one stone will be left upon another that will not be thrown down.” The pronoun may include the destruction of the temple, but the plurality implies that there are more events. Although Stephen Bridge is among those claiming that “these things” (v 7) refers only to the consummation of the temple alone, he also observes that this plural pronoun is grammatically problematic. He explains it in two ways:

“First, and perhaps most importantly, it parallels Jesus’ use of it in v 5 (‘as for these things [ταῦτα] which you see’). Second, it anticipates the series of events, or signs, which Jesus will subsequently recount.”⁵⁹

‘end,’ to ‘what is coming upon the world’ (v 26).” See also Darrell L. Bock, *Luke volume 2, 9:51–24:53* (BECNT 3B; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, c. 1996), 1663. The discourse also includes other themes such as false prophets (v 8), wars and insurrections (v 9), and persecutions (vv 12–19).

⁵⁸ Green, *Gospel*, 734. See also Herman Hendrickx, *The Third Gospel for the Third World, volume Four-A: Jesus in the Temple (Luke 19:45–21:38)* (Collegeville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 2001), 115; R.J. McKelvey, *The New Temple: The Church in the New Testament* (London: Oxford University, 1968); E.P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM, 1985), 77–90.

⁵⁹ Bridge, *Eagles*, 116–118.

The two reasons Bridge offers would not exactly match with each other. He first explains that the plural pronoun (v 6) refers to the “stones and offerings” (v 5), and then, he connects the same plurality to the series of events, which would allegedly occur together with the destruction. He does not explain why Luke (repeats and) parallels “these things” in vv 6 and 7, which indicate two different things. He also fails to observe that Luke guides the audience with his use of “these things.” For the audience, the questions on the time and sign of “these things” (v 7) result in another question on the meaning of “these things.” The audience would continue hearing with such a question, asking what else would be included in “these things.”

In sum, the first three verses (vv 5–7) of the end-time discourse open the discourse proper (vv 8–36) with Jesus’ statement on the “days” (v 6) and some following questions, not only the questions of the characters in the narrative (v 7) but also of the audience. While the questioners in the narrative ask Jesus about the time and sign of “these things” (v 7), the audience would have another question on the identity of “these things.” With the grammatical abruptness (v 6a) and ambiguity of meaning (v 7), *ταῦτα* is given special attention. The questions of the narrative characters and the indeterminacy on the side of the audience, both of which are related to *ταῦτα*, solicit an answer through the development of the discourse. Luke guides the audience with such questions and indeterminacy through the entire discourse.

The rhetorical structure of the end-time discourse (21:5–36)

Luke’s use of ταῦτα and πάντα

Luke’s guidance of the audience with the term *ταῦτα* is clearly observed in the rhetorical structure of the discourse.⁶⁰ Luke 21:5–36

⁶⁰ Rhetoric matters because Luke-Acts was an aural text, which was written to be read aloud. Permeated through the Hellenistic world, rhetoric was widely employed to teach, to delight, and to persuade the audience. Speaking and writing in the Greco-Roman world were done “for the ear, not the eye,” and therefore, composing—invention, arrangement, and style—and performing—memory and delivery—were part of one complex task and were intimately related to each other. Concerning Greco-Roman rhetoric, refer to G.A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation Through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1984); see also Tolbert, *Sowing the Gospel*, 41–46.

is a carefully organized text, which has “signposts and resting places” in Demetrius’ terms. Repetitions of words and sentences and abrupt breaks in normal grammatical practice are among common signposts used to guide an audience.⁶¹ Luke’s use of ταῦτα (“these things”) can be considered as a clear example of such a guide. Luke places ταῦτα at significant places of the discourse, especially at the end of each section: the introductory section (vv 5–7) ends with the questions on “these things”; the first warning (vv 8–9) and the description of eschatological events (vv 10–33) close with interpretations of “these things”; and the final warning (vv 34–36) concludes with an instruction on “all these things” (v 36). While the questions (v 7) follow Jesus’ statement in the introductory section (vv 5–7), the two comments on “these things” (vv 9cd, 28–33) interpret the *events* described in each section in relation to the end. My observation so far can be summarized as follows:

<i>Section</i>	<i>Ending</i>
Introduction (vv 5–7)	Question on “these things” (v 7)
Warning (vv 8–9)	Commentary on “these things” (v 9cd)
Eschatological events (vv 10–33)	Commentary on “these things” (vv 28–33)
Warning (vv 34–36)	Caution on “all these things” (v 36)

Luke’s use of “these things” is not static. With the term, he summarizes what he has described in each section, and each summary conveys an expansion of horizon. Therefore, an analysis of Luke’s use of ταῦτα needs to be done with a consideration of the entire rhetorical structure. Such an analysis also needs to follow the narrative track, because the audience hears the discourse along the sequence of oral performance.⁶²

The discourse proper (vv 8–36) starts and ends with a warning, a structure which implies Luke’s pastoral concern for his own

⁶¹ Demetrius states: “Sentences are like roads. Some roads have many signposts and many resting places; and the signposts are like guides. But a monotonous road without signposts seems infinite, even if it is short.” Demetrius, *On Style* 202 (Doreen C. Innes, LCL). Cf. Tolbert, *Sowing the Gospel*, 107.

⁶² In that way, my analysis of structure seeks to contribute to an understanding of the story. Mary Tolbert’s related comment would be helpful: “The analysis of structure for its own sake can be a useful exercise in technique, but it contributes little to understanding the story, and interpreting the story is the primary goal of this analysis.” See her *Sowing the Gospel*, 106–107.

audience.⁶³ The opening warning is about the audience's misconception of time. Vv 8–9 implies that some of the audience misunderstands that the end is at hand. Their misunderstanding is fostered by those coming in Jesus' name and saying, "the time is near" (v 8). The audience would also misinterpret the "wars and insurrections," of which they hear, as the sign of "the end" (vv 9ab).⁶⁴ However, Luke makes it clear that, while "these things must first take place," nevertheless, "the end will not be at once" (vv 9cd). The plural nouns, "wars and insurrections," show that Jesus in Luke is not talking about a single event.⁶⁵ The phenomena described in vv 8–9b may include what occurred around the time of Jewish War, but such false witnesses and social unrest would be the phenomena of the time of Luke's audience, too.⁶⁶ It is not hard to imagine that there would have been premature expectations of time even among Luke's audience who were earnestly looking forward to the end. Also, wars and insurrections are general phenomena of the world both in the past and present. From vv 8–9, Luke's audience would begin to suspect that Jesus in the discourse is not only speaking about the

⁶³ See Ruthild Geiger, *Die Lukanischen Endzeitreden: Studien zur Eschatologie des Lukas-Evangeliums* (Bern: Herbert Lang, 1973), 260–261. Charles Homer Giblin also finds such concern of Luke. He observes that the elements of exhortation "progressively tends to dominate the entire discourse: vv 8–9; vv 12–19; vv 20–24; vv 28–36." See his *The Destruction of Jerusalem according to Luke's Gospel: A Historical-Typological Moral* (analecta biblica 107; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1985), 82.

⁶⁴ Mostly, those who argue that the discourse concerns the destruction of the temple also claim that the term "end" in v 9 means the "end of Jerusalem," not the end of the world. See my discussion in page 111, footnote 56. They also argue that 21:10–11 is a description of the Jewish War. However, I will show that vv 10–11 describe the end of the world, not of Jerusalem.

⁶⁵ Luke uses the verb "to hear" (ἀκούειν) only here in the end-time discourse. Compare with the use of the verb "to see" (θεωρεῖν, v 6; ὁρᾶν, vv 20, 27, 29, 31) in the discourse.

⁶⁶ There is no consensus concerning what the "wars and insurrections" mean. Luke replaces the "rumors of wars" in Mark 13:7 to "insurrections" (ἀκαταστασίας, v 9). Fitzmyer (*Luke*, 1336) and Green (*Gospel*, 734) suggest that the term reflects "the so-called First Revolt of Palestinian Jews against the Roman occupiers" (66–70 CE). Fitzmyer also presents another possibility, that ἀκαταστασία refers to "the rapid succession of Roman emperors between Nero and Vespasian," a position that Johnson (*Gospel*, 321), who translates the word into "revolutions," follows upon. Johnson proposes the possibility that the term is naturally linked with war (πολέμος) in the literature. On the other hand, Schweizer (*Good News*, 314) suggests that the word indicates "rebellions" which commonly occurred in that time. Concerning the lexical meaning of the term, see, ἀκαταστασία, *TDNT* 3:446. Also, refer to Gerhard Dellling (στάσις, *TDNT* 7:568–571) and Lawrence Wills' discussion on the term in his "The Depiction of the Jews in Acts," *JBL* 110 (1991): 634–638.

past event, which they might initially expect, but more than that, including their own time!⁶⁷

The term ταῦτα appears again at this point (v 9c). Along with the change in the expectation of the audience, “these things” expands its purview. The term indicates what is described in vv 8–9b, and v 9cd offers a commentary on “these things.” Through the commentary, Luke first makes it clear that the audiences are living in the penultimate time, and then, he alerts them that these are not yet the phenomena of the end itself: “these things must first take place, but the end will not be at once” (v 9cd). The commentary implies that the penultimate reality, which is unstable (vv 8–9b) and painful (vv 12–19), will continue for a while.

The warning of Jesus with the first commentary on “these things” (vv 8–9) is followed by the depiction of the eschatological events with the second commentary (vv 10–33).⁶⁸

“At that time” (τότε), he continued saying to them, “a people will rise against a people, and a reign against a reign” (Luke 21:10).

⁶⁷ It is not very different even among the millennialists of modern world. Many of them interpret contemporary phenomena, including wars and earthquakes, as the signs of the end.

⁶⁸ Ruthild Geiger, *Die Lukanischen Endzeitreden: Studien zur Eschatologie des Lukas-Evangeliums* (Bern: Herbert Lang, 1973), 169–172; Maddox, *Purpose*, 119. See also John Martin Creed, *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1957), 255. Some scholars argue that a new section begins at v 10. Putting τότε ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς (v 10a) together with another introducing formula καὶ εἶπεν παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς (29a). Jan Lambrecht and others suggest that the discourse is divided into three parts: vv 5–9, vv 10–28, and vv 29–36. See Lambrecht, “Reading and Rereading Lk 18:31–22:6,” in *À Cause de L'évangile: Études sur les Synoptiques et les Actes* (ed. François Refoulé; Paris: Publications de Saint-André Cerf, 1985), 603. See also Zmijewski, *Eschatologiereden*, 104, 121–122; Keck, *Abschiedsrede*, 108–115, 189, 322; Keck's position is followed by Giblin, *Destruction*, 79. Such a division is refuted by Fusco. He contends that Luke never uses the phrase ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς (v 10a) simply to mark the internal division of a discourse, but the formula with the imperfect verb ἔλεγεν is related to the preceding aorist verb εἶπεν (v 8a), which is a characteristic of replies (Lk 3:15; 5:34; 8:30; 10:26, 37; 13:23; 16:6, 7; 17:37; 18:27, 41; 19:34; 29:24; 22:10; 24:19). As in the controversy on the Sabbath (Lk 6:1–5), the imperfect verb introduces Jesus' words, developing the answer already introduced by the aorist verb. The phrase (v 10a) connects, rather than divides, the following verses with the preceding ones. For the whole discussion of Fusco, see “Structure,” 75–77. However, against Fusco, this connection does not guarantee that vv 10–11 describes the same event as the preceding verse. After Luke's Jesus emphasizes that the occurrence of “these things” does not ensure the coming of the end at once (v 9d), he moves into v 10 where he explains what the end is really like. Concerning further debates whether v 10 is a new start, see Hendricks, *Third Gospel*, 122–123.

Contrary to the general assumption, the first word of v 10, τότε, does not belong to the narrator but to Jesus in the narrative so that it indicates the time just mentioned, that is, the end (τὸ τέλος, v 9). First, in other places in the Gospel, when the imperfect verb ἔλεγεν (“he was saying” or “he continued saying”) is employed to mark the continuation of Jesus’ teaching or preaching (5:36; 6:5, 20; 9:23; 12:54; 13:6, 18; 14:7, 12; 16:1, 5; 18:1), the term is never paired with τότε. Next, with only one exception (24:45) in the gospel, every occurrence of τότε is included in Jesus’ sayings (5:35; 6:32; 11:[24,] 26; 13:26; 14:9, 10, 21; 16:16; 21:20, 21, 27; 23:30). Finally, if we attribute τότε as belonging to the narrator, the adverb is not necessary in the context. This would indicate that Jesus’ answer is continued. However, if the verb ἔλεγεν is utilized to show continuation of the discourse, adding τότε here would be redundant. In Luke 24:45, which is the only place where τότε belongs to the narrator, “then” has a necessary function in the context. In that passage, Jesus opens the minds of his disciples to understand the *scriptures*, and the word τότε connects such act of Jesus to a situation in which he is teaching the *scriptures* (v 44). Even in that case, τότε is not combined with a verb that means “to speak.” Consequently, in Luke 21:10, only the phrase, “he continued saying to them” (ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς), belongs to the narrator. With the parenthesis, the narrator interrupts the second-degree narrative, confirming the authority of the words and alerting the reader to a change of perspective in what is mentioned hereafter.

Jesus in Luke first shows what the end is really like (vv 10–11), and then, begins to describe the penultimate time, which is followed by the temporal formula: “before all this occurs” (v 12a). The events of the penultimate period include the persecutions and witness (vv 12–19) and the desolation of Jerusalem (vv 20–24), which will continue “until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled” (v 24). The painful reality would also affect Luke’s audience, both in the past and present.⁶⁹ Knowing that their suffering is a necessary part of the process leading to the end, which has already been foretold by Jesus, they might be encouraged to endure all the hardships (v 19).⁷⁰ Luke

⁶⁹ Note that vv 12–24 describe the entire period from the desolation of Jerusalem to the end of the world.

⁷⁰ Scott Cunningham, *‘Through Many Tribulations’: The Theology of Persecution in Luke-Acts* (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1997), offers an exhaustive study of Luke’s literary

proceeds from the “times of the Gentiles” to the end-time (vv 25–27). This is not only a natural flow in temporal sequence, but Luke also provides the audience hope by implying that there will be a judgment against those who abuse the followers of Jesus.

The second commentary on “these things” (vv 28–33) follows the description of the eschatological events (vv 12–27).⁷¹ The meaning of ταῦτα (v 28) is not clear in its direct context. It could hardly indicate what is described in the preceding verse (v 27), that is, the coming of the Son of Man, because v 28 presupposes that the end has not come yet. “These things” should be understood in the entire literary structure of the discourse,⁷² as a commentary of what is described in the corresponding section (vv 10–27). The temporal statement, “when these things *begin* to take place” (v 28a), would indicate the time when the earlier part of the eschatological events occur (vv 10–27). These are events of the penultimate time, including the persecutions (vv 12–19) and the desolation of Jerusalem (vv 20–24). Because, from the temporal point of the audiences, such events (vv 12–24) have already occurred and probably the persecutions are continuing, the time indicated by v 28a probably includes the time of the audience. For Luke’s audience, Luke 21:28a should be under-

theme of persecution as a vehicle in pursuit of his theological agenda. He summarizes it in six statements: (1) persecution is part of the plan of God; (2) persecution is the rejection of God’s agents by those who are supposedly God’s people; (3) The persecuted people of God stand in continuity with God’s prophets; (4) persecution is an integral consequence of following Jesus; (5) persecution is the occasion of the Christian’s perseverance; (6) persecution is the occasion of divine triumph. What I contend with his thesis is that he hardly attends to the narrative fact that Romans are among the persecutors. In particular, in his second thesis, he misses the existence of Rome, which is implied by “prison” and “governors” (21:12; cf. 12:11). For an analysis of Luke 21:12–19 in relation to the entire narrative of Luke-Acts, see pages 126–138 of his book.

⁷¹ Luke 21:28 marks a new start. Lambrecht and others argue that the formula καὶ εἶπεν παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς (v 29a), not the description in v 28, introduces a new section, but Fusco shows that it connects the following passage with the preceding one rather than separates one from the other. By comparison, in his use of the same formula in other places of Luke (5:36; 6:39; 12:16; 13:6; 20:9), he demonstrates that the formula is intended to explain what is said in v 28 so that it “serves to connect and not to signify a break.” Also, the παραβολή in singular form indicates only the parable of fig tree, not all of the following section. Thus, the formula could hardly be understood as a mark of division. Fusco, “Structure,” 74–77.

⁷² The change of grammatical person is remarkable, too. Jesus in Luke addresses his audience in second person until v 20, but it changes into third person from v 21. In vv 21–27, he describes eschatological disasters coming upon some group of people, probably not upon the audience, and returns to second person in v 28.

stood as follows: “*because* these things are [already] beginning to take place.”⁷³

The second commentary (vv 28–33) is patterned in a similar way to the first one (v 9cd).⁷⁴ In v 9cd, Luke first makes it clear that (1) the audiences are living in the penultimate time and (2) alerts that there will be some interval until the end. The second commentary (vv 28–33) also consists of two parts. Luke first ensures that the end is near (vv 28–31),⁷⁵ and then, he alerts the audience about the interval. This time, Luke adds a warning about “this generation” (vv 32–33).⁷⁶ Contrary to the first commentary (v 9cd), where Luke emphasizes that the end will not be at once, the second commentary highlights the imminence of the end: “your redemption is drawing near” (v 28); and “the Reign of God is near” (v 31). The difference would be from its rhetorical concern. In the first commentary (v 9cd), Luke says that the end is not immediate (ἐνθέως), probably because he wants to emphasize the necessity of suffering in the penultimate time. However, in the second commentary (vv 28–33), which he gives after he has described all the penultimate sufferings and the final judgment, Luke could safely ensure the closeness of the end, by which he encourages the audience at this time. In this context,

⁷³ While in v 28, “these things” could embrace the entire process of eschatological events (vv 10–27), the second occurrence of “these things” in the same section (v 31) would clearly define the term indicating only the penultimate period.

⁷⁴ Note that the occurrences of ταῦτα in vv 9 and 28 are unique to Luke.

⁷⁵ Fusco (“Structure,” 77–79) analyzes the parallelism between three parts of vv 28–31—the saying (v 28), the parable (vv 29–30), and the explanation of the parable (v 31)—as follows:

Protasis	Apodasis
<i>These things</i> takes place	<i>your redemption is near</i> (v 28)
Trees put out leaves	summer is <i>near</i> (vv 29–30)
<i>These things</i> takes place	<i>the Reign of God is near</i> (v 31)

He shows that each of the three parts consists of a protasis and an apodasis. The first and last protases are in parallelism, both containing ταῦτα and the verb γίνουμαι, to enclose vv 28–31. All the three apodoses assert the certainty of closeness (the verb ἐγγίζει in v 28 and the adjectives ἐγγύς in vv 30, 31). *What* is at hand is “your redemption” in the first apodosis and “the kingdom of God” in the last. The middle apodosis conveys the closeness of the corresponding moment in the parable, that is, of the coming of the summer.

⁷⁶ Vv 32–33 is also patterned in parallelism:

Truly, I say to you (v 32a)
This generation <i>will not pass away</i> until “all things” take place (v 32bc)
The heaven and the earth <i>will pass away</i> (v 33a)
But, my word will not pass away (v 33b)

the following negative statement, “this generation will not pass away until all things take place” (v 32b) serves also as a positive promise that the power of this generation is limited in time.⁷⁷ The second commentary is not a simple repetition of the first one, but evidences a development in theme. Finally, the audiences are warned to be prepared for “that day,” which could come upon them “suddenly” (αἰφνίδιος, v 34).

In three places of the discourse, the term ταῦτα is paired or compared with another schematic word πάντα (vv 12, 32, 36). In the context of vv 28–33, ταῦτα is interpreted in relation to πάντα: “these things” show that the end is near, but this generation will not pass away until “all things” take place. The parallelism between vv 32b and 33a⁷⁸ implies that “all things” indicates the events of the end, when “the heaven and the earth will pass away.” It does not seem that “all things” means quantitatively every occurrence of events. In v 36, the audiences are advised to escape “all these things” by their prayer. If “all things” includes every event, v 36 could be in conflict with vv 12–19, where Jesus in Luke never encourages the audience to escape the persecutions but to endure. What they can escape is only the things that “will take place” (v 36) at the end, which is “the day” (v 34) that “will come upon” all the residents of the earth (v 35). Thus, in v 36, “all these things” (ταῦτα πάντα) means only the things of the end. The same terms in v 12 do not include the persecutions and the desolation of Jerusalem, because these events should be done “before all these things occur” (v 12a). It suggests that Luke does not use the term, πάντα, quantitatively but qualitatively: the term does not mean every occurrence of events but emphasizes the nature of the events as they *complete* God’s plan of history. Thus, “all things” do not include *all* things in the sequence of events, but only the things of the end.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Green maintains: “Jesus underscores how humiliation and suffering need not be taken as incongruous with his teaching regarding the inbreaking reign of God, but may be taken as signs of the realization of God’s kingdom (see Acts 14:22). Nor should the tribulation Jesus has enumerated detract from confidence in his word; in language that recalls OT assurances of the certainty and permanence of Yahweh’s word, Jesus affirms the certainty and permanence of his own prophetic instruction.” See his *Gospel*, 742.

⁷⁸ See footnote 76.

⁷⁹ In vv 12 and 36, ταῦτα is paired with πάντα. In these two cases, ταῦτα is a simple demonstrative pronoun supporting πάντα. In v 12a, Luke places the time of the readers “before all this occurs.” In the context, the phrase “all this” indicates

Luke's use of πάντα supports his use of ταῦτα to expand the horizon of the audience. The end-time discourse begins with "these things" (vv 6–7) and ends with "all these things" (v 36). In the opening verses (vv 5–7), ταῦτα could only indicate the temple or the destruction of the temple. At the end of the first warning (vv 8–9), the term includes phenomena other than the destruction of the temple. In the next section (vv 10–33), the purview of the term is expanded to embrace the entire period before the end (vv 28, 31). Finally, pairing ταῦτα with πάντα (v 36), Luke concludes the discourse, warning the audience to prepare for the end-time (vv 34–36).

The eschatological events (vv 10–27)

Such an expansion of horizon, which appears in the repetition of "these things," occurs also through Luke's description of eschatological events (vv 10–27). Beginning with v 10, Luke provides a description of events in a circular movement between the end (vv 10–11; 25–27) and the days before the end (vv 12–24). The movement starts from the end (vv 10–11), moves to the penultimate time (vv 12–24), and then returns to the end (vv 25–27). Two temporal formulae in the beginning of v 12 and at the end of v 24 bracket off the events described between them, showing that the events belong to the penultimate period: the persecutions (vv 12–19) and the desolation of Jerusalem (vv 20–24) take place "before all this occurs" (v 12) and "until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled" (v 24).⁸⁰ The formulae also distinguish the penultimate events (vv 12–24) from the things of the end (vv 10–12, 25–27), which are marked by two "signs" phrases in parallel (σημεῖα μεγάλα ἔσται and ἔσονται σημεῖα). Contrary to the differentiation between the penultimate period and the end, there is no mark to distinguish between the things of the penultimate period.⁸¹ It suggests that, in Luke's scheme, these two

the things of the end described in vv 10–11. In v 36, ταῦτα πάντα means what will occur in "that day," i.e., the end (vv 34–35). However, in v 32, πάντα stands by itself without the demonstrative pronoun, because the preceding vv 28–31 is not concerned with the end, but with "these things."

⁸⁰ Carroll, *Response*, 112–113.

⁸¹ Conzelmann argues that the descriptions in v 24 include several stages of time, in which "the times of the Gentiles" follow the time of Jewish dispersion. He also attempts to separate the cosmic upheaval (vv 25–26) from the parousia (v 27). Through such an analysis, he attempts to suggest a long distance between the destruction of Jerusalem and the end. However, a majority of scholars do not follow this position. See his *Theology*, 130.

events occur in the same period before the end, in which both the desolation of Jerusalem and the reality of Luke's contemporaries are included.⁸² This part of my analysis (vv 10–27) is summarized by the following chart.

Things of the end, including signs (vv 10–11)

Before all this occurs

Persecutions and witness (vv 12–19)

The desolation of Jerusalem (vv 20–24)

Until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled

Things of the end, including signs (vv 25–27)

Contrary to the argument that vv 10–11 say one thing and vv 25–27 another, the parallelism between the two sections does not only suggest their connection but also evidences a development in repetition.⁸³ A redactional observation highlights such a composition. Luke 20:10–11 and 25–26 are in parallel with Mark 13:8 and 24–25 respectively. Mark 13:8 describes only the earthly disruptions, and

⁸² In Lukan narrative world, it is clear that persecutions begin before the destruction of Jerusalem, as shown in the book of Acts, which is full of the stories of persecutions and expansion of mission occurring before the fall of Jerusalem. However, just as Jesus in Luke foretells that the Gentiles' trampling on Jerusalem will continue until the end time (vv 24ff.), he describes the persecutions are phenomena of time before the end (v 12a). In Luke's scheme, both the persecutions against Jesus' followers and the destruction of Jerusalem are included in the period before the end.

⁸³ Fitzmyer (*Luke*, 1334) argues, "even though political and cosmic cataclysms are mentioned, they need not be understood as referring to anything other than the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple." He adds, "Form-critically considered, vv 8–11 are a collection of prophetic, even minatory, Sayings of Jesus, cast in apocalyptic language." He also quotes Rudolf Bultmann who argues that this is the beginning of the "Jewish Apocalypse with Christian editing." For Fitzmyer (*Luke*, 1337), the eschatological language in this section, especially in v 11, is in agreement with Josephus' description of the star and comet at the burning of the Jerusalem temple. Fitzmyer also compares this passage with the description of the invasion of Jerusalem by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 2 Macc 5:2–3. See also Nolland, *Luke*, 992–993; Tiede, *Luke*, 359–360; Johnson, *Gospel*, 321–322; and Darrell L. Bock, *Luke*, 1667–1668. On the contrary, the discussions which support that vv 10–11 correspond to vv 25–27 include Conzelmann, *Theology*, 128–130; Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News according to Luke* (tr. David E. Green; Atlanta, Ga.: John Knox, 1984), 311; and John T. Carroll, *Response to the End of History: Eschatology and Situation in Luke-Acts* (SBL Dissertation Series 92; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars, 1988), 112 n. 297. See also Robert C. Tannehil, *Luke* (Nashville, Tenn: Abingdon, 1996), 302, who holds a neutral position. He suggests that vv 10–11 could be understood both "as the description of the time leading up to the Jewish-Roman war" and "as encompassing the whole time up to the end, connecting the 'great signs from heaven' with the description in verses 25–27."

13:24–25 only heavenly upheavals, but Luke adds the heavenly signs to the former (21:11) and the earthly distress and fear to the latter (21:25b–26a), while abbreviating the details of the heavenly ones, so that he forms 21:10–11 and 25–26 in parallel.⁸⁴ It can be summarized as follows [*italics* are Luke's additions]:

[Mark 13:8]	[Luke 21:10–11]
Earthly disruptions	Earthly disruptions <i>Terrors and great signs from heaven</i>
[Mark 13:24–25]	[Luke 21:25–26]
Sun, moon, stars, and powers in heavens	Signs in sun, moon, stars <i>Distress of nations upon the earth</i> <i>Fear and foreboding . . . upon the world</i> Power in heavens

The second description of the end (vv 25–26) is not only a parallel longer than the first one (vv 10–11), but the second also develops themes of the first. In vv 10–11, the earthly disruptions include political (v 10) and natural disasters (v 11), but it is not clear at whom such disasters are aimed and how they work for the followers of Jesus. However, in vv 25–26, the heavenly and earthly disruptions are clearly directed to some group of people (21:25b–26a). The coming of the Son of Man (v 27) will work against them. However, for the followers of Jesus, the coming Reign of God (v 31) will be “redemption” (v 28). The audiences of the discourse, by prayer, can escape the calamity and stand before the Son of Man (v 36).⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Nolland also sees parallelism between vv 11 and 25. See his *Luke*, 1005–1006.

⁸⁵ In Mark 13:8, the sentence, “a nation will rise against a nation, and a reign against a reign,” would describe an ordinary war of the penultimate period. However, the parallelism in Luke between 21:10–11 and 25–27 would give a different meaning to the sentence. I suggest that Luke would have a similar passage in the book of Daniel, when he uses the statement, “a nation (ἔθνος) will rise against a nation, and a reign against a reign” (v 10). The words and images of Luke 21:10 can be compared with those in Dan 2:44, where Daniel interprets Nebuchadnezzar’s dream of a great image. Through the interpretation, he foretells the establishment of the reign of God that destroys all the empires, by hitting the last one. The LXX text of Daniel goes as follows: “And in the days of these kings, the God of heaven shall set up *another reign* (βασιλείαν ἄλλην) which shall exist forever and not be destroyed: and this reign shall not be left to *another people* (ἄλλο εἶδος). It shall destroy all these reigns, and it shall stand forever” [*Italics* are mine]. The terms, “another reign” and “another people,” presuppose the existence of the other reign and people. This fits with the scene described in Luke 21:10b, where two reigns and two peoples are in conflict. At the end time, the Reign of God will rise against the Empire, and the people of God will replace the colonizers. In the dream Daniel interprets

Through the analysis of rhetorical structure (Luke 21:5–36), I have shown that the Lukan narrator educates his audience by structuring the end-time discourse in a pattern of *repetition and development*. Although Luke opens the discourse with a statement and questions seemingly concerned with the destruction of the temple (vv 5–7), the discourse proper (vv 8–36) does not stay within that theme. The main concern of the discourse rapidly shifts away from the past event to an instruction for the audience who are living in the penultimate period. Luke does not distinguish between the time of the desolation of Jerusalem and his contemporary time but understands the desolated Jerusalem as a mark that shows the penultimate period has already begun. In order to help the audience locate their place in the timetable leading to the end, Luke portrays the events in a circular movement between the end and the time before the end (vv 10–27). Through such a pattern, Luke both distinguishes his contemporary time from the end and assures the audience that they are living in the penultimate time. The two commentaries on time (vv 9cd, 28–33) confirm both that suffering is necessary and that the end is near.

Narrative conclusion: ethics for the penultimate period (21:34–36)

As the first προσέχετε passage (20:46–21:4) concludes the first half of Jesus' teaching in the temple, the second προσέχετε passage (21:34–36) completes the end-time discourse with an instruction to prepare the audience for the end of the world, which will come upon all the dwellers of the earth (v 35). Just as in 20:46–21:4, Jesus contrasts the two kinds of ethics for those who are living in the penultimate

(2:31–45), each of the four parts of the image represents the four empires in order. Although historically not accurate, in the book of Daniel, the empires correspond to Babylonia (Dan 2:38), Media (LXX 6:1), Persia (LXX 6:29), and Greece (11:2ff) in order. They are four different empires, three of which have already ended but all of which belong to a single great image. What really matters for Daniel and his readers is the fall of Greece, particularly, the Seleucid Empire. The reign of God would rise against the empire of Antiochus IV. Refer to Louis F. Hartmann and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel* (AB 23; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1978), 29; John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 29–32; Norman W. Porteous, *Daniel: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1965), 45–48; W. Sibley Towner, *Daniel* (Interpretation; Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1984), 35–36; and James A. Montgomery, *The Book of Daniel* (ICC; N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927), 59–63. See also dissenting opinions, e.g., John E. Goldingay, *Daniel* (WBC 30; Dallas, Tex.: Word Books, 1982), 49–51. Goldingay interprets the four parts as the reigns of four kings of a single empire rather than four empires.

period. On the one hand, while the scribes are filled with their concern with status honor (20:46), the audiences are required to be prepared for the end by keeping their heart not “weighed down with dissipation, drunkenness, and the worries of life” (21:34). On the other, the followers of Jesus also need to watch at all time and “pray” that they may have strength “to stand before the Son of Man (21:36),” while the scribes “make long prayers for the pretense” (20:47). They will receive the greater judgment (20:47). The ethics of the religion/politics of Empire is not in order for the followers of Jesus who live in the penultimate time.

In summary, as Luke understands his contemporary time in relation to the end, his understanding of the end is related with his present. He attempts to console and encourage his audiences, by showing that the coming Reign of God will be their “redemption” (ἀπολύτρωσις, v 28; cf. 1:68; 2:38), which would be fulfilled in “the year of Lord’s favor” (4:18–19). Furthermore, because the Jewish authorities and Rome are the powers dominating in Luke’s time, his understanding of the penultimate period and of the resultant end pertains to his view of the powers. From the outline drawn above, I would like to proceed to analyze some portion of the text more in detail to find Luke’s stance concerning Rome. Luke does not explicitly disclose his view of Rome nor uses the term “Rome” or “Romans” in the passage (21:5–36). However, some terms imply the presence of Romans, including “prisons” (v 12), “governors” (v 12), “armies” (v 20), and “the Gentiles” (and/or “the nations,” vv 24, 25). In addition, association with the Jewish authorities is remarkable, including the setting of the temple (vv 5–7), the desolation of Jerusalem (vv 20–24), and the term “synagogues” (v 12). The presence of the Jewish authorities and the Romans are intermingled (e.g., v 12), which hints that Luke’s view of Rome needs to be explored in relation to his view of the “Jews.”⁸⁶

⁸⁶ The term, “Jews” (Ἰουδαῖοι), is not used in the discourse. The description of persecutions in v 12 implies that Jewish authorities are among the persecutors of Jesus’ followers. In vv 20–24, Jesus predicts that God’s vengeance and wrath will be upon those who are in Jerusalem, especially “this people.” However, Jesus’ audiences in the narrative are mostly Jewish people, too. Therefore, for a convenience of distinction, I will use the term with quotation, “Jews,” when I indicate the Jews who are not followers of Jesus.

The gloomy “days”: Luke’s view of his contemporary context

While the discourse involves encouragement and assurance of the audience, Luke’s image of the penultimate time, to which his contemporaries belong, is mostly negative. The period is unstable with false witnesses misleading people (v 8) and with wars and insurrections (v 9), and it is painful for the followers of Jesus, who suffer from persecutions (vv 12–18). In the period, God’s vengeance comes upon Jerusalem (vv 20–24) and the “Gentiles” rule the world (v 24). “This generation,” that turns their back on God, continues to dominate until the end (v 32). Although the mission expands *through* the very persecution (vv 13–15; 24), it is nearly impossible to find peace in the world. Luke’s description of his “days” in Luke 21:5–36 is far, indeed, from the so-called *Pax Romana*. Such a negative portrayal of time is significant, because it implies Luke’s negative perception of contemporary reality, which is dominated by the Roman Empire. I will develop my analysis of the end-time discourse to explore how Luke portrays his reality and how he implicitly or explicitly discloses his stance concerning Rome through his description of time.

“These days” (v 22), “this people” (v 23), and “this generation” (v 32)

Luke depicts the gloomy “days” before the end utilizing the demonstrative pronoun “this” (οὗτος)⁸⁷ not only for “these things” but also in other expressions, including “these [days]” (v 22), “this people” (v 23) and “this generation” (v 32). In v 22a, the feminine plural pronoun αὐταί modifies “the days of vengeance,” when there is woe to the pregnant and nursing women (vv 22–23). “These” days are also defined as the “times of the Gentiles,” which implies the Roman domination (v 24). In “these” days, there will be wrath upon “this people” (v 23c), implying that “this people” in the city of Jerusalem is distinguished from “the people” who hang upon and listen to Jesus in the temple while he is teaching. For, while “the people” listen to Jesus’ teaching (20:45), “this people” are addressed in the third per-

⁸⁷ Such use of οὗτος is unique to Luke, because there is no peculiar negative connotation to the pronoun in Mark 13. Besides a clear distinction between “these things” and “all” things, Luke adds the terms, “these” days (“the days of vengeance,” v 22), and “this people” (v 23). In addition, “the times of the Gentiles” (v 24) is unique to Luke.

son (v 21).⁸⁸ Luke's use of the pronoun οὗτος, along with his negative description of the penultimate period, provides some background information, against which the term "this generation" (v 32) should be understood.

While various interpretations of "this generation" have been proposed,⁸⁹ in Luke the phrase usually designates the group of people who are "evil and resistant to the prophet" (7:31; 11:29, 30, 31, 32, 50, 51; 16:8; 17:25; cf. 9:41).⁹⁰ Green's definition of the term represents such usage:

⁸⁸ The duplicity of the "people" is remarkable. In the temple (19:47–21:38), they are active followers of Jesus. However, in the court of Pilate in Jerusalem, they shout that Jesus should be crucified (23:18, 23). "This people" (v 23) would be closer to the people in the court.

⁸⁹ Bock summarizes the interpretations of "this generation" into six views. (1) In a position Jesus refers to the generation of the disciples who are addressed, foretelling that they will see the end before they die (H.K. Luce; T.W. Manson; A.H. McNeile; H.G. Kümmel; E. Grässer; R. Maddox; A.J. Mattill; S.G. Wilson). Bock contends that such an interpretation makes Jesus manifestly wrong, that is, Luke represents Jesus as a false prophet. (2) Variations of view 1 state that Luke intends his own generation, rather than that of Jesus (R. Geiger), or that some of Jesus' contemporaries were still alive at the end of the first century (R.H. Hiers; E. Franklin). Bock argues that this argument is weaker than the view 1. (3) In another position, Jesus refers to 70 CE as the beginning of consummation (N. Geldenhuys) or as a type of the end (A. Plummer). This is not supported by the text. Rather Luke attempts to refute such a view. (4) A lexical approach argues that γενεά means a given race, that is, the Jewish nation (R.H. Lenski; M. Meinertz), such that the Jewish race will not pass away before the end. Variations state that γενεά means "human race" (Schweizer; Tiede; Zmijewski; Conzelmann; G. Schneider), the "race of the disciples" (W. Grundmann), or "this type of generation" (i.e. the faithless generation of 11:29–32; Danker). Bock contends that this is a rare sense. He mistakenly includes the position of "this type of generation" in this lexical category. The last position is based on a textual observation of Luke, not on lexicography. (5) An "already–not yet" approach maintains that the 70 CE event and the end are inseparably linked so that the end has begun with events (within this generation) leading to the fall (Plummer; J.A. Bengel). One event pictures, guarantees, and reflects the other. Bock says that to accept this view involves a shift in subject back to a focus on 70 CE, which was seemingly left behind in 21:24. (6) Final position claims that when Jesus speaks of the "generation" that sees the things of the end, he means the generation that sees the events of the end (Fitzmyer; Ellis). Bock supports this position, stating, "what Jesus is saying is that the generation that sees the beginning of the end also sees its end." However, he also acknowledges the probability of view 4 [this type of generation] or view 5 [the beginning of the end of this generation]. Bock, *Luke*, 1688–1690. For other surveys of the positions on "this generation," A.J. Mattill, *Luke and the Last Things: A Perspective for the Understanding of Lukan Thought* (Dillsboro, N.C.: Western North Carolina Press, 1979), 97–104; Maddox, *Purpose*, 111–115. Talbert (*Reading*, 231–232) argues that the generation includes "several lifetimes."

⁹⁰ Johnson, *Gospel*, 328.

Verse 32 . . . actually has less to say about the eschatological time-table and more to say about the *motif of conflict* related to the presence and expected culmination of the kingdom of God. “This generation” refers in Luke’s narrative not to a set number of decades or to people living at such-and-such time, but to *people who stubbornly turn their backs on the divine purpose*. Jesus’ followers can expect hostility and calamity until the very End, Jesus teaches, for *the old world*, “this generation,” *does not easily give way to the new*.⁹¹

His understandings of the terms as “those who turn their back on the divine purpose” fits well with Luke’s use of the demonstrative pronoun οὗτος and the characteristics of the days before the end. “This generation,” in this view, would be those who dominate in “these days,” the period when “these things” occur. “This generation” would include “this people,” upon whom God’s wrath will come (v 23).

In Luke, “this generation” includes both Jewish authorities and Romans. Teaching about the days of the Son of Man, Jesus foretells that the Son of Man *must first* (πρῶτον . . . δεῖ) suffer many things and be rejected by “this generation” (17:25). In the Lukan context where Jesus foretells the death and resurrection of the Son of Man, “this generation” who afflicts Jesus includes both the Jewish leaders (9:22) and the Gentiles, i.e., the Romans (Luke 18:32; Acts 4:27). In other places, the terms indicate the Jewish leaders: the Pharisees and the scribes (7:31), who *reject* the purpose of God (7:30), or the lawyers, who will be charged with the *blood of the prophets* (11:50, 51). Such descriptions of “this generation” coincide with Luke’s description of the penultimate period in the end-time discourse. Jesus in the discourse teaches that “these things” *must first* (δεῖ . . . πρῶτον) take place before the end (21:9). In the penultimate period, the followers of Jesus suffer similar rejections as the prophets and the Son of Man do. As the tenants who reject the sovereignty of God abuse the servants and the son sent by the master (20:10–15), the Jewish and Roman authorities persecute the witnesses of Jesus (21:12–19). The similarity in the temporal formulae also implies association between “this generation” and the persecutions. Luke 21:32 states, “this generation will not pass away until all things take place.” The temporal formula, “*until all things take place*” (v 32), would correspond with “*before all these things occur*” (v 12) that opens the description of the

⁹¹ Green, *Gospel*, 742 [Italics are mine].

persecutions. Such a correspondence suggests a relation between “this generation” and those who persecute Jesus’ followers, the Jewish and Roman authorities (v 12).

In vv 32b–33a, Jesus in Luke describes the end, when “all things” take place, as “passing away” in two ways: (1) “this generation” passes away; and (2) the heaven and the earth pass away. Such a description of the end corresponds with vv 25–26, where he portrays the end as natural disasters on *the heaven and the earth* and as the judgment upon some group of *people*.⁹² This parallelism between vv 32–33 and 25–26 suggests that “this generation” would represent “the nations” and “the humanity” which will be in distress and faint with fear at the end (vv 25–26). In addition, the parallelism between “until all things take place” and “until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled” (v 24), implies a connection between “this generation” and “the Gentiles,” who are dominating before the end (v 24). All these observations suggest that Luke has a negative stance concerning the dominating powers of his age and understands the end as the termination of such powers and their followers.

“The times of the Gentiles”: persecutions and mission (vv 12–24)

While Luke’s portrait of the days before the end is mostly gloomy, however, he does not only advise the audience to endure but also shows that even the painful days are in God’s plan of mission. The term, “the time of the Gentiles” (v 24), involves a paradox in God’s providence. There is a debate whether the phrase indicates Roman domination⁹³ or Gentile mission.⁹⁴ However, the coexistence of the

⁹² I analyzed the passage as descriptions of heavenly upheavals (vv 25a, 26b) and earthly disruptions (vv 25b–26a), which are in parallelism with v 11. However, in vv 32–33, Luke characterizes the end in a different way.

⁹³ Ellis, *Gospel*, 245; Schweizer, *Good News*, 317; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1347; Tiede, *Luke*, 365; Hendrickx, *Third Gospel*, 161.

⁹⁴ Maddox, *Purpose*, 120; Marshall, *Gospel*, 773–774; Danker, *Jesus*, 335; Craddock, *Luke*, 246. However, the terms themselves imply the limit of the “times of the Gentiles.” The judgment upon the Gentiles takes place after the judgment upon Jerusalem ends (vv 25–26). Nolland (*Luke*, 1002) represents the third opinion. He argues that “the times of the Gentiles” does not indicate the “time” (v 20) of the judgment upon Jerusalem but the “times” after that. For him, the phrase refers to the “judgment upon the gentile nations that corresponds to the judgment upon Jerusalem.” Nolland observes a significant analogy between the judgments upon Jerusalem and upon “the nations.” Contrary to him, however, Luke uses the plural term, “the days of vengeance,” to indicate the time of the judgment upon Jerusalem. Luke uses the singular “that day” (ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη) to indicate the end-time, not

two passages (vv 12–18 & 20–24) suggests that the phrase indicates a period of simultaneous domination and mission.⁹⁵ The audience is living in the times of the Gentile domination, times which God uses for mission. Luke attempts to show that God transforms even persecutions into opportunities for witness (vv 12–18), just as the passion narrative (23:47) and Acts narratives claim.⁹⁶

The terms, “the times of the Gentiles” would carry Luke’s complicated view of the penultimate period. While he describes his time of persecutions and the Gentile domination mostly in negative terms, Luke accepts the hardships as destined by God.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, Luke’s implication that God’s providence turns the Gentile domination into an opportunity for mission (21:13) does not automatically mean God’s approval of the present reality, the Empire. Similarly, though Jesus’ death occurs according to God’s planning and foreknowledge, this does not excuse the Jewish and Roman authorities from the guilt of crucifying Jesus (cf. Acts 2:23). The witness is not done under the auspices of the Empire but during the apology before the persecutors (v 12), who are not collaborators of God but “adversaries” of Jesus’ followers (οἱ ἀντικείμενοι ὑμῖν, v 15). The audiences are expected to refute the adversaries with the “mouth and wisdom” Jesus will offer. They are not advised to come to terms with the Jewish and Roman authorities, the persecutors, at all. Likewise, though the fol-

the plural “the times of the Gentiles,” while he employs plural terms to indicate the penultimate period, including “days” (v 6), “the days of vengeance,” and the very “times of the Gentiles.” Nolland’s division of time comes from Conzelmann, who uses it for his argument relegating “the Parousia to a still greater distance.” Conzelmann (*Theology*, 130) argues that the *long* “times of the Gentiles” come after the judgment upon Jerusalem. This position is hardly followed.

⁹⁵ Green, *Gospel*, 739, and Mattill, *Last Things*, 135, also acknowledge that the two possibilities are not mutually exclusive.

⁹⁶ For instance, the martyrdom of Stephen and the following “great persecution against the church in Jerusalem” lead to the expansion of the mission to the areas of Judea and Samaria (Acts 8:1b). More widely, concerning Acts’ peculiar pattern, a repeating cycle of three dramatic moments—positive missionary activity, opposition and constriction, and release and expansion—see Wills, “The Depiction,” 640–642.

⁹⁷ Through the narrative of Luke-Acts, Luke shows his complexly duplicate position about the chance for mission that the Roman imperialism facilitates. For instance, in Acts, Paul is active in making use of the systems of Rome, including its court procedure (Acts 23:11; 25:10ff.), his own citizenship (Acts 16:37–39; 22:25–29; 23:27), and Roman officials (Acts 23:12–22). However, Luke never explicitly says that Paul benefits from the *Pax Romana* or the Roman road system. See Steve Walton, “The State They Were in,” 16.

lowers of Jesus are delivered by their own relatives and friends, this does not relieve the persecutors from their responsibility.

The chains of abuse and punishment

As shown in the previous section, Luke's understanding of the days before the end is not simple, and neither is his view of the dominating powers of the time, probably the Jewish authorities and their patrons, the Romans. Then, how does Luke understand the Jewish authorities in relation to the Romans, and the Romans in relation to the Jewish authorities? An understanding of such relations should be helpful in determining Luke's stance concerning Rome.

I have already discussed that, through the two debates (20:1–26) before the end-time discourse, Luke attempts to show that the Jewish leaders do not serve Jesus' God but depend on the power of Rome to accomplish their plot against Jesus and that he denounces the leaders as following the religion of the Empire. Their dependence on the Empire is given shape by the conspiracy between the Jewish and Roman authorities (21:12). Furthermore, the Romans' interaction with the Jewish authorities characterizes both groups as belonging to the imperial religious/political system. Jesus in Luke promises his followers that he will support their refutation of the "adversaries," which include both the Jewish and Roman authorities (21:12–15). Thus, the Romans are in direct conflict with Jesus, not indirect and implicit conflict as in the debates (20:1–27). Through the tension between the authority "from heaven" and the authority "from men" in the debates (20:1–27), those who represent the religion/politics of Empire are characterized as not worthy of the coming age (cf. 20:34–35). Their rejection of the sovereignty of God results in the eschatological punishment upon them (20:16). The Romans' interaction with the Jewish authorities would place the two groups in the same eschatological destiny.

The sequence of the two passages, in which the desolation of Jerusalem (21:20–24) follows the persecutions of Jesus' witnesses (21:12–19), would encourage the audience to read the second passage (vv 20–24) as the eschatological punishment upon the city for its abuse of Jesus' witnesses (vv 12–19).⁹⁸ Some information Luke has

⁹⁸ Green, *Gospel*, 738–739, and Chance, *Jerusalem*, 120–121, also suggest that this narrative sequence or close proximity hints at a causal relationship between these

given before this passage would help such reasoning of the audience. The desolation of Jerusalem (vv 20–24) is already foretold by Jesus through his two laments for the city (13:33–35; 19:42–44).⁹⁹ Jesus in Luke attributes the city’s devastation to its murdering of the prophets God sent, including Jesus (13:34–35a), and to Jerusalem’s ignorance of the time of visitation (19:44). Through the prophecies, Luke makes it clear that the desolation of Jerusalem is the punishment of God. The mentions of “the days of vengeance” (21:22) and “wrath” (21:23) highlight this nature of the events (vv 12–19 and 20–24). Nonetheless, it is surprising that the Romans, who are the source of the Jewish leaders’ power, are not eternal supporters of the Jewish status quo but the implied agent of God’s judgment upon the city. It would be the finale of the collaborators of the imperial religion, which Luke attempts to show. Supporters become persecutors and destroyers when their interests shift. Loyalty, often demanded, is never real or trustworthy in the imperial religious/political system. Rather, self-interest is the guiding ethic of this system. The comparison between the two kinds of ethics, which is illustrated in 20:45–47, also shows how self-interest directs the behavior of the scribes. Their high status as leaders serves only to satisfy their concern with status honor and they even do not mind devouring widows’ houses, whom they are supposed to support. Both what Romans did to Jerusalem and the behaviors of the scribes re-present the ethic of imperial religion/politics oriented by self-interest.

Once the audience understands the tragedy of Jerusalem as punishment (21:20–24), it is likely inescapable that they raise a question. If Jerusalem and its residents were punished because of their murder of prophets and abuse of Jesus’ followers, then what would happen to the Romans, who victimize both Jesus’ followers and Jerusalem? Teasing the audience with such questions, the discourse begins to be “coded” with scriptural allusions. For the audience who is acquainted with the Hebrew Bible, the “days of vengeance” (v 22) would be understood in two ways. The terms are usually traced back

two consecutive events. The Acts narratives would represent the historical fulfillment of this prophecy (21:12–19). See also Zmijewski, *Eschatologiereden*, 177–178. For the narrative sequence, see Seymour B. Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Story and Film* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978), 45–48; and Mark Allan Powell, *What is Narrative Criticism* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 40–42.

⁹⁹ See also Craig Evans, *Luke* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1990), 309; Johnson, *Gospel*, 323; Giblin, *Destruction*, 87–89; Green, *Gospel*, 738–739.

to Jer 5:29, Hos 9:7, or Ezek 9:1,¹⁰⁰ where the vengeance of God is proclaimed to the people of Judah, Israel, or Jerusalem. Instead, Nolland suggests Jer 51:6 (LXX 28:6), where the vengeance falling upon Babylon¹⁰¹—not upon Israel—is described, as the more probable source of the phrase. For only in this passage does the phrase follow imagery of “fleeing from a doomed city as in Luke 21:21–22.”¹⁰² Nolland continues:

Jer 51:6 involves inflicting upon Babylon what she had earlier inflicted upon Jerusalem (cf. 50:15), and so an allusion to Jer 51:6 would prepare for the move from judgment upon Jerusalem by the Gentiles to judgment in turn upon the Gentiles, which we find in v 24 and vv 25–26 (the wider perspective of judgment would seem to be already in view with the “all” of v 22b).¹⁰³

Such duplicity of “the days of vengeance,” which could mean both vengeance upon Jerusalem and vengeance upon Babylon, strengthens the question on Rome.¹⁰⁴

As many scholars point out, Luke 21:24, rather than just describing what actually took place in 70 CE, is colored more by scriptural

¹⁰⁰ E.g., Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1354; Tiede, *Luke*, 364; Green, *Gospel*, 739.

¹⁰¹ See also 46:10 (LXX 26:10), where ‘the day of vengeance’ aims to Egypt, and Jer 50:27 (LXX 27:27), where ‘the time of vengeance’ aims to Babylon.

¹⁰² I would add that “let every man save his life” (Jer 51:6b) has connection with Luke 21:19, which precedes the passage on the desolation of Jerusalem. If Nolland’s observation is correct, Luke draws on the OT description of the vengeance upon Babylon to describe the vengeance upon Israel. It could be understood as “parody.” While I do not develop a discussion on parody in this chapter, a theory of parody would be a useful tool to address the intertextuality of the New Testament texts. Linda Hutcheon states: “When we speak of parody, we do not just mean two texts that interrelate in a certain way. We also imply an intention to parody another work (or set of conventions) and both a recognition of that intent and an ability to find and interpret the backgrounded text in its relation to the parody.” See Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Forms* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 22. Parody does not necessarily include a concept of ridicule. Etymologically, the Greek word *παρωδία* means “counter-song.” A closer look at that root, Hutcheon (32) continues, offers more information: “The textual or discursive nature of parody (as opposed to satire) is clear from the *odos* part of the word, meaning song. The prefix *para* has two meanings, only one of which is usually mentioned—that of ‘counter’ or ‘against.’ Thus parody becomes an opposition or contrast between texts. . . . However, *para* in Greek can also mean ‘beside,’ and therefore there is a suggestion of an accord or intimacy instead of a contrast. . . . Parody, then, in its ironic ‘trans-contextualization’ and inversion, is repetition with difference.”

¹⁰³ Nolland, *Luke*, 1001.

¹⁰⁴ Babylon is the coded name of Rome in some apocalyptic literatures. See, e.g., Rev 17–18.

descriptions of the fall of Jerusalem to Babylon. For example: “fall by the edge of the sword” (Isa 3:25; 13:15; 65:12; Jer 14:12–18; 16:4 [LXX]; Ezek 39:23; cf. Josephus, *Jewish War*, 5:516–518); “carried of captive to all nations” (Deut 28:64); and “trampled on by the Gentiles” (Zech 12:3 [LXX]; Pss Sol 17:22; cf. also Isa 63:18; Dan 8:13; 1 Macc 3:45, 51; 2 Baruch 67:2).¹⁰⁵ Most of the scriptural passages are drawn from context in which the promise of the restoration of Israel¹⁰⁶ and God’s vengeance on Babylon are proclaimed.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, if the audiences are well acquainted with the passages, they would suspect that God would punish Rome and restore Israel, as God did to Babylon and Israel in the past.

The restoration of Israel

The two expectations of God’s punishment upon Rome and the restoration of Israel would be guiding questions, when the audience moves on to the following passage (21:25–27). A.J. Mattill argues that Luke implied the restoration of Israel when he composed Luke 21:20–24. Mattill observes six motifs from Luke 21:20–24: (1) death by the sword; (2) being led captive into all nations; (3) the trampling down of Jerusalem by Gentiles; (4) the Gentiles as God’s instrument of punishment upon Israel; (5) fulfillment of a limited time of punishment; and, (6) the conversion of Gentiles to the Lord. Comparing Luke with Ezekiel 38–39 (also 40–48) and Tobit 14 (second century BCE), he finds that each section of Ezekiel and Tobit includes explicitly or implicitly all the six motifs of vv 20–24, as well as two more: (7) God’s restoration of his people to their land; and, (8) the rebuilding of the temple and city, a new Jerusalem. From the comparison, Mattill argues that Luke also thinks of the other two motifs (number

¹⁰⁵ Older arguments among them are C.H. Dodd, “The Fall of Jerusalem and the ‘Abomination’ of Desolation,” *JRS* 37 (1947): 47–54; Fred O. Francis, “Eschatology and History in Luke-Acts,” *JAAAR* 37 (1969): 49–63, 55; F. Keck, *Abschiedsrede*, 221; Giblin, *Destruction*, 88.

¹⁰⁶ Tannehil, *Luke*, 306. Tannehil emphasizes that Zech 12:1–9 is “an oracle of salvation for Jerusalem” and Pss Sol 17:21–25 is “a prayer that the Messiah come to rescue Jerusalem.” He also lists Isa 65:17–25; Dan 8:14; 1 Macc 4:36–60; and 2 Baruch 68:1–5.

¹⁰⁷ Many allusions of Jeremiah are observed in the passage: desolation (Jer 4:7; 7:34; 22:5; etc.); στρατοπέδων (Jer [LXX] 41:1) encircling Jerusalem (Jer 52:7); people of Jerusalem fallen by the sword (Jer 20:4), going into captivity (Jer 20:6), and slaughtered by the mouth of the sword (Jer 21:7). Hendrickx, *Third Gospel*, 154.

7 and 8), which are involved in the restoration of Israel.¹⁰⁸ However, had Luke had the sections of Ezekiel and Tobit in mind when he composed his Gospel, one should ask why he omits the two motifs.

In the end-time discourse, Luke scarcely represents the reign of God as the national restoration of Israel, explicitly or implicitly.¹⁰⁹ Robert Tannehil argues that “your redemption” in v 28 includes the “redemption of the Jewish people or Jerusalem,” because the discourse is addressed both to the disciples and to the people of Jerusalem (Luke 20:45).¹¹⁰ However, while he may be right in emphasizing that Jesus in the discourse broadly addresses the “people,” it is hard to argue that the “people” represent the people *in Jerusalem*, because Jesus is not teaching in the city of Jerusalem but in *the temple*. In Luke’s geography, the temple is not inside the city, but may be next to the city wall. In Luke 19:45, as Conzelmann observes, Jesus enters only into the temple: “He does not connect the Entry with the city at all—according to Luke Jesus never enters it before the Last Supper, but he connects the Entry exclusively with the Temple.”¹¹¹ Therefore, it is hard to dependably argue that the “people” listening to Jesus’ discourse represent the Jews and the people of Jerusalem. In addition, those who are in Jerusalem are addressed in third person (v 21), not in second person as in the phrase “your redemption” (v 28). Luke separates “the people” from “this people” who are in Jerusalem and being punished (v 23). He also distinguishes the people from their leaders (19:47–48; 23:13), though sometimes the people support the leaders, as in claiming that Pilate should crucify Jesus (23:18, 25). No textual evidence supports the readers’ expectation that the coming of the Son of Man should be a nationalistic event, the restoration of Israel.¹¹²

Luke’s description of the Jews is so complicated that one can hardly argue that the end-time discourse promises a restoration for them, or dismiss them, as a single group. He divides the Jews into

¹⁰⁸ Mattill, *Last Things*, 136ff.

¹⁰⁹ Although the expectation of the restoration of Israel repeatedly echoes through Luke-Acts (Luke 1:68–79; Luke 24:21; Acts 1:6; cf. Acts 26:6, 7; 28:20), the Lukan narrator does not explicitly identify the reign of God with the independence of Israel.

¹¹⁰ Robert C. Tannehil, *Luke* (Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon, 1996), 306.

¹¹¹ Conzelmann, *Theology*, 75.

¹¹² Luke omits mentioning the gathering of “his elect” (Mark 13:27), which could have been interpreted as the restoration of Israel.

at least three groups: at the one end, there are the disciples and “the people” who listen to Jesus; the Jewish authorities and “this people” (v 23) are at the other end; in addition, there is another group in the middle, including those who dwell in Judea, in the country, and inside Jerusalem (v 21). While the third group in the middle are outsiders, for whom Jesus uses indirect exhortations in the third person plural (v 21), they are different from the Jewish authorities, the persecutors (v 12). Luke’s description of those who have power in the penultimate period implies that the destiny of the Jewish authorities would be the same as “this people” in Jerusalem,¹¹³ upon whom God’s wrath will come (v 23). On the contrary, it does not seem that “this people” means all Jewish people or all the residents of Jerusalem, because “those in Judea” and “those inside Jerusalem” are warned to escape from Jerusalem (v 21).¹¹⁴ The latter could escape the “vengeance” and the “wrath” of God (vv 22–23). Jesus addresses men to give them the opportunity to escape (φεύγειν) from the disaster and shows mercy to women who are pregnant and nursing infants (v 23), and yet he does it only indirectly. They could be either saved or judged. It is not clear that the group in the middle follows Jesus or not: maybe not, because v 21 would describe the residents in Judea and Jerusalem in general. Luke does not problematize their religious faith. Their destiny is decided according to their relationship with the city of Jerusalem, the center of Jewish power. If they do not belong to “Jerusalem,” they will be saved.

The complexity in Luke’s description of the Jews weakens not only the argument for the restoration of Israel but also the opposite claim that Luke rejects the Jews or Judaism as a whole in the discourse. Luke distinguishes Jerusalem from the local area of Judea. Those who take refuge in the mountains, departing the city, and those who are in the country will be safe (v 21). Rejected are not all Jews but only those of the city of Jerusalem, the center of Jewish power. Neither is it a rejection of Judaism, because Luke distinguishes the city of Jerusalem from the temple. Redactionally speaking, Luke disconnects vv 20–24 from its association with the temple, removing “the desolating sacrilege” (Mark 13:14). Jesus himself cleanses and

¹¹³ The group, “this people,” makes it even more complicated. There is no hint to show who they are, except the demonstrative pronoun “this,” which suggests their association with the power of the penultimate period.

¹¹⁴ In addition, “those who are in the country” are advised not to enter the city.

takes possession of the temple. The vengeance of God is aimed at the city of Jerusalem (and maybe the splendor of the temple buildings which traces the imperial religion), not at the temple Jesus controls.¹¹⁵

Triangular power relations

The hypothesis that Luke rejects the Jews or Judaism as a whole does not attend to the political aspect of Luke's end-time discourse properly, because he does not treat the religious faith separately from the power relations. Luke does not show any antipathy to Judaism or to the Jewish people as a whole but to the powers that persecute the followers of Jesus. Such a political aspect of Luke's end-time discourse (20:5–36) requires an analysis of power relations among the groups of characters, including the followers of Jesus, the Jewish authorities, and Romans. What makes the power relations peculiar is the duplicate position of the Jewish authorities in relation to other two groups. The "Jews" in the discourse are not only those victimized by Roman imperialism but also those who victimize Jesus' followers. Placed in the middle, these "Jews" are colonized and colonizer at the same time.

Luke, as colonized, accuses the Jewish authorities of their conspiracy with the Romans. They themselves also being colonized, the Jewish authorities collaborate with the Romans in persecuting another colonized group, the followers of Jesus (vv 12–19). Luke's description of the rulers in 3:1–2 implies that he understands the Jerusalem leadership (led by the high priest), together with the Roman governor Pilate and several tetrarchs, as making up the sub-structure of the Roman colonial system and acting as loyal servants of the Empire.¹¹⁶ Through the two debates in the temple (20:1–26),¹¹⁷ Luke discloses that the Jerusalem leadership depends on the jurisdiction and authority of Roman governor (20:20) rather than on God. The end-time discourse, especially the description of the persecutions by the Jewish and Roman authorities, is concerned with an accusation

¹¹⁵ Note the feminine pronoun ("her" desolation, v 20) or the feminine definite article (those in the midst of "her," v 21), which indicate the city of Jerusalem.

¹¹⁶ I will discuss the Jerusalem leadership's loyalty to the Roman Empire in detail in the following chapter on Lukan passion narratives.

¹¹⁷ These are the debates between Jesus and the Jerusalem leadership concerning the authority of Jesus (20:1–19) and tribute to Caesar (20:20–26). Refer to my discussion in the previous section titled "Jesus activity in the temple (Luke 19:45–21:38)."

of such a colonial conspiracy. Nonetheless, despite their collaboration with the colonizers, the Jewish authorities are still colonized. Their capital city is surrounded and trodden down by “the armies,” probably the Romans (vv 20–24), the very power with which the city’s leadership collaborates!

Such duplicity of the Jewish authorities as both victimizer and victim is related to Luke’s ambivalent position, which also complicates his view of the Romans. Luke’s positive view of Romans should be understood against the background of his bad experience with the Jewish authorities.¹¹⁸ Such ambivalence is illuminated by a post-colonial perspective. Both Jesus’ followers and some groups of the Jews are aware that the reality of Roman domination enforces bad conditions of life and faith on them such that they desire God’s intervention in human reality. However, at the same time, in order to survive, they need the protection of Roman power. Sometimes, both Luke and the Jewish authorities, both being colonized, are involved in competition for the favor of the Roman Empire.¹¹⁹ Not only the Jewish authorities collaborate with the Romans to remove their rivals (20:20–27; 21:12–19), but also Luke partly condones the Roman devastations of Jerusalem by relating the event with God’s judgment (21:20–24). To interpret the desolation of Jerusalem, Luke

¹¹⁸ The unsettled debates concerning Luke’s view of the Jews and his position on Rome may result from such an ambivalent triangular relationship between the followers of Jesus, the “Jews,” and the Roman Empire. Many scholars have observed that Luke’s description of the “Jews” is associated with that of Rome. For instance, Lawrence Wills argues that Luke’s depiction of the Jews is “part of a larger apologetic program,” which is involved in “the positive portrayal of the Christians’ relationship with the Roman state.” See his “The Depiction of the Jews in Acts,” 651–654. He follows Conzelmann in arguing that Luke is pro-Roman and anti-Judaistic. Their problem is to consider the three parts—the “Christians,” the “Jews,” and the Romans—as separate actors. Even the followers of Jesus are among the group of Jews. For the followers of Jesus, the “Jews” and Romans are collaborators of imperialism, and the Jewish authorities’ abuse of Jesus’ followers is not sharply divided from the Roman imperial rule (Luke 12:11; 21:12; Acts 4:27–28).

¹¹⁹ In the book of Acts, both the “Jews” and Jesus’ followers accuse each other of stirring up riot, *στάσις*. In Acts 23:7 and 10, Luke describes that the Pharisees and the Sadducees would cause *στάσις*, while in 24:5, the high priest and some elders from Jerusalem accuse Paul of the cause of *στάσις*. From his observation of the use of such idea in Acts, Wills (“The Depiction,” 634–638) argues that Luke reproduces the “imperial sociology” of the Roman ruling class. He claims that, appealing to the Romans’ fear of *στάσις*, Luke attempts to show that the “Jews” are a cause of social unrest while “Christians” are innocent. However, Wills fails to find the competition between the “Jews” and the followers of Jesus to get the favor of Rome.

uses the terms, “vengeance” and “wrath” of God (21:22–23), and says that it is done in “the times of the Gentiles” (21:24).¹²⁰ Such coexistence of terms implies that Luke understands “the Gentiles,” probably the Romans, as an agent of God’s judgment upon the city (19:41–44). Luke would accept the reality of imperialism as inescapable, though it does not automatically mean that Luke legitimates the Roman Empire and recedes from reality by transferring the Reign of God into a metaphysical rather than political sphere. Even though Luke is not favorable to the Empire,¹²¹ he still needs it. The following description of the end (21:25–27) will further illuminate Luke’s ambivalent view of Rome.

The end of the Empire

Moving to the following passage (vv 25–27), which seems coded in apocalyptic languages, the audience would search for an answer to the questions by the two preceding passages (vv 12–18; 20–24), questions on the restoration of Israel and on the judgment upon Rome. I have already shown that Luke modifies a significant aspect of apocalypticism, that is, the identification of the Reign of God with the restoration of Israel. The second question on Rome is also related with an aspect of apocalypticism, that is, a this-worldly and political vision. I argue that Luke does not depart from such a vision to attain a more metaphysical and dualistic view,¹²² through my analysis of Luke’s description of the end leading to the coming Son of Man (vv 25–27).

From such a concern, similarities in language and idea found between vv 20–24 and 25–27 are remarkable. Although the times of the two passages are clearly divided by the temporal formula,

¹²⁰ While he is not hostile to the temple, Luke reveals his antipathy to Jerusalem. Only Luke describes the fall of Jerusalem as “vengeance” and “wrath” of God. The fall of Jerusalem is not just a mark of the penultimate period but part of the process of God’s judgment! This could make one think that Luke is more antagonistic to Judaism than other Gospel writers. However, as I have discussed, Luke is not concerned with Judaism as a religion different from his own, but the power the Jewish authorities exercise.

¹²¹ Note Luke’s negative descriptions of the penultimate time.

¹²² Concerning the scholarly argument that Luke recedes from the political reality of the Empire to attain a metaphysical vision of eschatology, see my discussion in the previous chapter.

“until the times of Gentiles are fulfilled” (v 24), the desolation of Jerusalem in the penultimate period (vv 20–24) and the end-time judgment (vv 25–26) are described in similar terms. The phrase, “distress *among the nations upon the earth* (ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς)” (v 25), with which Luke describes the end, can be compared with his description of the desolation of Jerusalem in v 23: “great distress *upon the land* (ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) and wrath *upon the people*.” While the Greek words ἡ γῆ translate differently in the two contexts—into “the land” in v 23 and “the earth” in v 25—the terms show that both judgments are terrestrial: the end-time judgment would come upon this world and upon some group of human beings just as that upon Jerusalem. The difference between vv 23 and 25 is only the scale: v 23 describes a judgment upon a group of people (τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ), and v 25 against a wider object, a system of nations (ἔθνων), which is probably the Empire. As Flender observes, the judgment upon Israel “provides the pattern for God’s judgment over the fallen world as a whole.”¹²³

Certainly, the symbolic languages in vv 11 and 25–26 might not be taken literally. As N.T. Wright states, the “signs in the sun, moon and stars” (v 25) “could easily mean that the great nations and kingdoms of the earth would be . . . ‘going through convulsions’.”¹²⁴ The political nature of apocalyptic languages in the end-time discourse is acknowledged by many scholars, especially by those who argue that such languages in v 11 describe the fall of Jerusalem, not the end. However, while the scholars argue that the political event such as the Jewish War is described in apocalyptic terms (v 11),¹²⁵ I contend that they barely attend to the same political nature of the events described in similar apocalyptic terms (vv 25–27). Aware of such nature of apocalyptic languages, Herman Waetjen’s analysis of the heavenly symbols in Mark 13:24 is helpful in understanding Luke 21:25–26:

Since Jewish apocalypticism considers stars to be angels or heavenly beings who are representative of the empires, kingdoms, and polities in the divine council, these cosmic events will culminate in the shaking of “the powers in the heavens” and signal the passing away of the institutional structures they had erected for the exploitation of the

¹²³ Helmut Flender, *St Luke: Theologian of Redemptive History* (tr. Reginald H. and Ilse Fuller; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967), 109.

¹²⁴ N.T. Wright, *Luke for Everyone* (London: SPCK, 2001), 255.

¹²⁵ Refer to the argument quoted in footnote 83 (page 134).

masses of humankind. All those realities which transcended individual human life, the so-called powers and principalities, established by the forces of imperialism that by oppression and dispossession have diminished human existence, will be transformed.¹²⁶

I am not arguing that every detail in vv 25–27 corresponds with some political event. Luke could also believe that there will be such cosmic upheavals in the end. Nevertheless, the political nature of the eschatological events cannot be missed. The end will be a disaster upon the “nations” (v 25) and “men” (v 26), who will be terribly afraid, “for their concerns and interest tie them to the world that is disintegrating.”¹²⁷ Luke 21:25–26 could be a summary version of the eschatological disasters, for instance, described in Rev 18 (especially vv 9–10, 11, 15–19), where “the kings of the earth,” “the merchants of the earth,” and “all shipmasters and seafaring men, sailors and all whose trade is on the sea” cry and fear for the judgment, because they have profited from the imperialism. Because Luke’s contemporary reader knows that Rome is ruling “the inhabited world” (v 26), the end of the world as a political event should mean the replacement of the world order ruled by the Roman Empire by the Son of Man (v 27).

The repetition of a Greek term ἔθνη would connect the eschatological judgment (vv 25–26) more closely to the desolation of Jerusalem (vv 20–24). The term occurs three times in a single verse (v 24), and appears again in the following verse (v 25). Although the term translates into English differently in the four occurrences (“the Gentiles” or “the nations”), its fourth occurrence immediately after the three occurrences would strongly encourage the audience to connect the four occurrences of the term together. Furthermore, the chains of abuse and punishment observed in the three consecutive passages (vv 12–19; 20–24; 25–27) would help the audience understand the third passage as the judgment upon the ἔθνη for their devastation of Jerusalem (vv 20–24).¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Waetjen, *Reordering*, 200–201. See also Walter Wink, *Naming the Powers: The Language of Power in the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984), 17, 159–163.

¹²⁷ Tannehil, *Luke*, 307.

¹²⁸ Many possible OT allusions are observed in vv 25–27, most of which are in a context of God’s judgment against enemies, especially Babylon, or incidences in which the punishment upon Israel is proclaimed. See, e.g., Isa 13:10 (v 25a); 24:19 (v 25b); 34:4 (v 26b); Joel 2:10; Ezek 32:7–8; Hag 2:6, 21. See also the images and terms in Jeremiah’s prediction of God’s judgment against Babylon in Jer 50–51 [LXX 27–28], especially the judgment by water in LXX 27:42; 28:16, 42, and 55.

According to our knowledge of history, the armies that attacked Jerusalem (v 20) were clearly the Romans. Although the ἔθνη could include nations other than Rome, what is described in v 24 should be understood as part of Roman colonialism, because “all the nations” who participate in the devastation of Jerusalem would be part of the Empire.¹²⁹ The participation of other nations would not reduce the responsibility of Rome for their desolation of the city. Furthermore, Luke does not say, explicitly or implicitly, that Rome would escape from the eschatological judgment. Luke does not exonerate Rome from its participation in crucifying Jesus (Acts 4:25–28), persecuting his followers, and desolating Jerusalem. Because he does not separate himself completely from all the Jews, Luke could not be indifferent to Roman devastation of Jerusalem and to its contingent destruction of the temple.

Luke’s use of the Greek term ἔθνη elsewhere in Luke-Acts supports this view that the term indicates Romans, especially in the passages where the suffering of Jesus is described. In his passion prediction, Jesus foretells that the Son of Man will be delivered to the *Gentiles* (ἔθνη), and will be mocked, mistreated, spat on, and scourged by them before he is killed by them (Luke 18:32–33). Also in Acts 4:25–28, describing the crucifixion of Jesus, it is said that both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the *Gentiles* and the people of Israel, gathered together against Jesus. In both passages, it is unquestionable that the Greek term indicates the Romans who participated in the execution of Jesus and in the persecution of his followers.

Nevertheless, Luke does not explicitly say that the “Gentiles” are Romans. Although Luke’s use of ἔθνη strengthens the this-worldly aspect of his eschatology, the term takes Rome out of focus. Luke attempts to focus on the desolation of Jerusalem itself rather than those who attack the city, probably because his main competitors are the Jewish authorities.¹³⁰ Still, Luke does not defend the Roman desolation of Jerusalem as strongly as Josephus, his contemporary, who examples in detail how God intervened on the side of Romans.¹³¹

Refer also to Charles A. Kimball, *Jesus’ Exposition of the Old Testament in Luke’s Gospel* (JSNTSup 94; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1994), 192 n. 163.

¹²⁹ If Luke draws on OT descriptions of the fall of Jerusalem, the details would not correspond to the history around 70 CE. Still, in the narrative context of vv 20–24, the audience would imagine the Roman armies who took the city.

¹³⁰ Note the conflict between Jesus and the Jerusalem leadership since Luke 19:47.

¹³¹ Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, 6:399, 401, 411–412. See also Tiede, *Prophecy and History in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 83.

Luke highlights the fact that the Jewish authorities are punished by God rather than that the Romans are the agents of punishment. Thus, Luke's relationship with Romans would be secondary to his relationship with the Jewish authorities in Luke-Acts. As Mary Tolbert correctly points out in her analysis of Mark 13:9–27, the Gospel parallel of the end-time discourse in Luke 21:12–25, “the most blistering denunciations are leveled, not at imperial representatives themselves, but at local leaders.” She continues, “One avoids offending too greatly those with real power to harm.”¹³² Because he needs the power of Rome to deal with the Jewish power, Luke would not want to be on bad terms with Rome. Above all, Luke probably attempts to use Rome to prove that Jesus is innocent (23:4, 14, 22; 47). Luke would have Jesus exonerated by the very official power that crucified him, which is described in the passion narrative (Luke 22–23). Therefore, Luke cannot negate the authority of Rome *for now*, though it is not the legitimation of the Empire forever.

Summary

I have discussed the text of Luke's end-time discourse (21:5–36) against the thematic background of Jesus' entire activity in the temple (19:45–21:38). In particular, I have tried to show that the tension between the two authorities, one “from heaven” and the other “from men,” connects the end-time discourse thematically with the preceding passages, especially with the three debates (20:1–44). The Jerusalem leadership, which plots against Jesus (19:47), represents the authority “from men,” or what I name “politics/religion of Empire.” While the debates illustrate the conflict between the two authorities, the end-time discourse portrays how the “politics/religion of Jesus' God” will replace the power of human origin in the coming of the Son of Man.

Luke patterns the end-time discourse in *repetition and development*. In particular, Luke's use of “these things” (ταῦτα) guides the audiences to expand their horizon of understanding. Although the discourse begins with the mention of the temple buildings (v 5) and the questions seemingly on the destruction of the temple (v 7), Jesus in Luke

¹³² Tolbert, “When Resistance Becomes Repression: Mark 13:9–27 and the Politics of Location,” in *Reading from This Place vol. 2: Social Location and Biblical Interpretation in Global Perspective* (ed. idem and F.F. Segovia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 336.

does not stay within the theme of the temple, but gradually broadens the purview of his instruction with the repeated occurrence of “these things” (vv 6, 7, 9, 28, 31; cf. 12, 36). Starting from the temple, the discourse expands to include the reality of the penultimate period (vv 12–24) and finally the end-time events (vv 10–11, 25–27). The description of the eschatological events shows a development in a form of spiral. By the repetition of the description of the end (vv 10–11, 25–27), Jesus in Luke gradually discloses the nature of the eschatological events as the judgment upon some group of people. Luke’s description of the penultimate period, to which his contemporaries also belong, is negative in general. The period is unstable (vv 8–9, 20–24) and painful (vv 12–19), and those who turn their back against the plan of God (“this generation” in v 32) dominate in the period. Luke’s understanding of the end, leading to the coming of the Son of Man (vv 25–27), is closely related to such penultimate period: God will punish those who persecute Jesus’ followers. However, while Luke is explicit in describing the punishment upon Jerusalem (vv 20–24), the final destiny of Romans, the collaborators of the Jewish leaders in persecution, is only implicit.

Rome begins to be involved in the tension between the two religious/political systems at the debate on tribute to Caesar (20:20–26), but the conflict is formed only indirectly and implicitly through the Jewish leaders’ dependence on the Empire. In the end-time discourse (21:5–36), however, the conflict between Rome and the followers of Jesus is direct and explicit. Romans collaborate with the Jewish authorities in persecuting the followers of Jesus (21:12), though Luke is still inexplicit in the relation between Rome and the end as the judgment. Luke’s description of Jesus’ activity in the temple implies that Jesus’ main opponent in the narrative is the Jewish authorities, not the Romans. Luke involves the Empire in his narrative only through the Jewish authorities. Through their dependence on Rome, Luke has triangular power relationships with the Empire and the Jewish authorities. Therefore, Luke’s view of Rome should be explored in relation to his view of the Jewish authorities.

The next chapter on the passion narrative (Luke 22–23) will be a continuation of my exploration into Luke’s stance concerning Rome, viewed from his relationship with the Jewish authority and from his eschatology. Luke 22–23 is significant in my project, because only in this part of Luke is Jesus’ encounter with Romans direct and

explicit. While Luke's description of Jesus' activity in the temple shows how Luke denounces the Jewish leadership's dependence on Rome, the direct encounter between Jesus and Pilate in the passion narrative would disclose how Luke himself treats the power of the Empire more clearly than in the preceding passages.

CHAPTER FOUR

IN THE CITY OF JERUSALEM: THE REIGN OF GOD AND THE POWER OF DARKNESS (LUKE 22–23)

Through an analysis of Luke 19:45–21:38, I have shown that Luke describes the Jerusalem leadership as dependent upon the Roman Empire. The leaders attempt to overpower Jesus with the authority of the Roman governor (20:20) and collaborate with the Roman officials in the persecutions of Jesus' followers (21:12–19). Luke depicts the Jewish and Roman authorities as together in the conflicts with Jesus. I have also shown that Luke represents the conflict between Jesus and Jerusalem leaders as a tension between two religious/political systems: the Jewish and Roman powers together follow the imperial system, while Jesus claims allegiance with the religion/politics of Israel's God. In the terms utilized in Luke, the Jewish and Roman powers both represent the authority "from men," while Jesus' authority is given "from heaven" (20:4). Therefore, it would be inappropriate to treat the Jerusalem leadership in the passion narrative as having an agency fully separable from that of Roman officials, though some inner discord—especially at the trial of Jesus—is observed between the Jewish authorities and Roman Pilate (Luke 22–23).

Dominated by the representatives of the Empire, whom Luke calls "this generation" (21:32), the period before the end, including the fall of Jerusalem and Luke's contemporary reality, forms a gloomy picture (21:8–9, 12–24, 32). Luke's eschatology is shaped by and against an unstable, painful context, a setting from which a reordering of power by the coming Son of Man is eagerly awaited (21:10–11, 25–27). In this chapter of the book, by reframing space-time and power relations, I further explore how Luke narratively develops the conflict between the two religious/political systems. First, I describe the way Luke distinguishes the space-time of Jesus from that of the imperial system, i.e., the temple in the "power of God" (22:69) is developed as distinct from the city of Jerusalem in the "power of darkness" (22:53). While Luke 19:45–21:38 describes the space-time of Jesus, Luke 22:54–23:56 depicts occurrences in the city of Jerusalem, the space of the imperial system. Placed in-between, Luke 22:1–53

treats significant issues related to the power-shift from Jesus to the representatives of imperial system. I also discuss the interstitial space in/of the people and in/of Luke himself, a place “in-between” that is expressed in Luke’s triangular relations with Rome, on the one hand, and with the insurrectionists, including the Jerusalem leadership, on the other. Finally, I will analyze Luke’s eschatological allusions in the passion narrative in relation to his view of Rome. Throughout the textual analysis in this chapter, I explore how Luke envisions an alternative space-time free from the Empire. My analysis of space-time relies on Doreen Massey’s differentiation of space from place, which I introduced in chapter one.¹ For Massey, “the spatial” is constituted by interlocking social relations, in which the social and the spatial are inseparable and mutually constitutive.

Space-time and power relations in Luke 19:45–23:56

As discussed in the preceding chapters of this project, Jesus’ conflict with the Jerusalem leadership (Luke 19:45–21:38) occurs in a frame of space-time. Jesus teaches *in the temple every day* (19:47; 21:37) and *overpowers* the leaders, whose allegiance is with the religion/politics of Empire. Thus, the “temple in daytime” is constructed as Jesus’ space-time, and this space-time construct is imbued with power relations.

The temple in daytime and the city of Jerusalem in the “power of darkness”

While Jesus’ debates and teaching (19:47–21:38) are done in the “day,” the passion narrative (chs 22–23) is set against the symbolic “night.” The last two verses of Luke 21, vv 37–38, which enclose the end-time discourse along with 19:47–48, describe Jesus’ activities in a transitional day/night frame: “And every *day* he was teaching in the temple, and at *night*, he went out and spent the night in the mount called Olives” (21:37). With the mention of the daytime activity, Luke concludes the discourse in the temple; then, with “night,” Luke not only describes what has been done but also prepares for the following narratives, done in the symbolic night, the time of “darkness.” This symbolism remains consistent even though

¹ Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001). See my discussion in pages 8–11.

Luke indicates the dawning of the day before he describes the trial of Jesus at the Sanhedrin (22:66). It is not a normal “day,” because “darkness” covers the whole land during the brightest time of the day: “And it was now about the sixth hour, and darkness came over the whole land until the ninth hour” (23:44). Luke’s passion narrative, therefore, seeks to depict what occurs in the typological time of “darkness,” or the “night,” in his frame of time.

In these temporal settings, which are not only chronological but also typological,² Luke utilizes darkness as an image able to characterize some span of time, a typological night, when the representatives of imperial politics/religion predominate. Confronted with the Jerusalem leadership that has come to arrest him, Jesus says, “When I was with you every *day* in the *temple*, you did not lay hands on me. This is *your hour* and *the power of darkness*” (22:53). This paradigmatic statement summarizes what has occurred and anticipates what will occur. In the second half of the statement (v 53b), the possessive pronoun “your” (ὁμῶν), which modifies the term “hour,” implies an understanding that a certain group dominates a certain period. The following phrase, “the power of darkness,” connects the darkness with particular power relations. The parallelism between the two phrases, “your hour” and “the power of darkness,” suggests that Jesus identifies the Jerusalem leadership as a group representing “darkness.” Such reasoning is supported by the first half of the statement (v 53a), which summarizes the power relations described in 19:45–21:38: “When I was with you every *day* in the *temple*, you did not lay hands on me.” Comparing the first and second half of Jesus’ statement (22:53), the following contrast stands out:

	First half (22:53a)	Second half (22:53b)
Time:	<i>Day</i>	Night or the time of <i>darkness</i>
Space:	The <i>temple</i>	(Transition to the city of Jerusalem)
Power:	<i>Jesus</i> predominates	<i>The power of darkness</i> predominates
Title:	(The time of Jesus)	“your hour”

While the first half of the statement (v 53a) describes the space-time of Jesus, the setting against which Jesus’ discourse in the temple is narrated (19:45–21:38), the “power of darkness” and “your hour” in the second half of the statement (v 53b) typify what is described

² For further discussion on temporal settings, see Mark Allan Powell, *What is Narrative Criticism* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 72–74.

thereafter (22:54–23:56). The “power of darkness” would indicate the Jewish and Roman authorities, who have power over Jesus in that section of the Gospel. Thus, placed in the middle, Jesus’ statement at his arrest (22:53) marks the end of his time and the beginning of “your hour” in Luke’s narrative world.

Immediately after Jesus pronounces the words, “your hour and the power of darkness” (ἡ ὥρα καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία τοῦ σκοτοῦς, 22:53),³ Luke describes the Jerusalem leadership seizing and bringing Jesus to the high priest’s house (22:54) likely in *the city of Jerusalem*. The *time of darkness* dawns in the city, and thus, the narrative space-time for the imperial religion/politics is set up. When we read Jesus’ passion predictions in Luke alongside the passion narrative, certain characteristics of those who predominate in Jerusalem are clarified. They, “the power of darkness,” include both the Jewish and Roman authorities. While in his first prediction, Jesus says that the Son of Man will be rejected and killed by “the elders and chief priests and scribes” (9:22); in another place, reminding that he is going up to Jerusalem, he foretells that he will be delivered to “the Gentiles” (18:32;⁴ cf 21:24), probably the Romans. Jesus also foretells that he will be delivered into the hands of “men” (9:44; cf. 24:7) and rejected by “this generation” (17:25). Both terms can be read in relation to the imperial religion/politics of Jesus’ discourse in the temple. Through the parable of the tenants (20:9–19), Jesus warns that the Jerusalem leadership does not acknowledge authority from heaven but depends upon the power from “men” (20:2, 6). As shown in the preceding chapter, “heaven” and “men,” indicating the two sources of power, are Luke’s way of distinguishing the two systems of religion/politics.⁵ In the end-time discourse, “this generation” also carries Luke’s distinction, and indicates the Jewish and Roman authorities, who are dominating in the penultimate period, including the persecutions against Jesus’ followers (21:12).⁶ Using these four different terms in the four passion predictions (9:22, 44; 17:25; 18:32), Luke clearly characterizes the enemies of Jesus as predominating in the city of Jerusalem. Not only the leaders but also the people in the city of

³ Note that “your hour and the power of darkness” are the last words of 22:53.

⁴ Luke emphasizes the role of “the Gentiles” in the crucifixion of Jesus by omitting “the chief priests and the scribes” (Mark 10:33).

⁵ For Luke’s distinction of the two religious/political systems with the two sources of authority, see pages 93–107.

⁶ For further discussion of “this generation,” see pages 126–129.

Jerusalem participate in this characterization of the city. As Steve Walton observes, it is only in the city of Jerusalem that the apostles speak of “you” as responsible for the death of Jesus (Acts 2:36; 3:13, 14, 17; 4:10; 5:30; 7:52; cf. 5:28). And, in a passage where Paul mentions the responsibility for Jesus’ death, he attributes it to “the Jerusalem residents and their leaders” (Acts 13:26–27).⁷ “In this city,” as Luke describes in Acts 4:27, “both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, are gathered together” against Jesus. They mock him, beat him, sentence him to death, and finally crucify him in Jerusalem. Jesus’ prediction that the prophet cannot be killed away from Jerusalem (Luke 13:33) further characterizes the city as the space of Jesus’ enemies.

Joseph B. Tyson also remarks on Luke’s differentiation between the temple and the city of Jerusalem, although Tyson fails to fully consider the factors of time and the power relations associated with the spaces:

In those sections of Luke-Acts in which positive images of Jerusalem and the temple are found, the city and its shrine are treated almost as a single phenomenon. In passages where there are negative images, it appears that there are some distinctions. The city receives a blanket condemnation and is associated only with doom. Luke’s treatment of the temple, although negative, is more subtle.⁸

Quoting Conzelmann’s description of Jesus’ entry into the temple (19:28–45),⁹ Tyson contends that Luke’s literary intent rather than his lack of geographical knowledge leads him at this point: “His intention was to create a distance between Jesus and the city and to associate him with the temple.”¹⁰ Although Tyson connects this spatial distinction to Luke’s literary plan, Tyson does not acknowledge that Conzelmann also describes Luke’s theological intention.

⁷ Steve Walton, “The State They Were in: Luke’s View of the Roman Empire,” in *Rome in the Bible and in the Early Church* (ed. Peter Oakes; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2002), 19.

⁸ Joseph B. Tyson, *The Death of Jesus in Luke-Acts* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1986), 101.

⁹ Conzelmann observes that Luke connects the Entry exclusively with the Temple, not with the city at all. He explains this: “The objection might be made that in order to enter the Temple one would first have to enter the city, but Luke hardly had an accurate idea of the position of the city and of the Temple.” See Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke* (trans. Geoffrey Buswell; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1961), 75 n. 1.

¹⁰ Tyson, *Destruction*, 102.

Conzelmann has incorrectly identified Luke's distinction between the temple and the city of Jerusalem with the modern division between religion and politics, represented by the temple and the city respectively. Conzelmann argues that Luke attempts "to avoid any contradiction between his emphatically non-political Christology and the fact of the Entry."¹¹

Brent Kinman points out the anachronism in this religion/politics dichotomy, given the historic connections between temples and rulers both in the Greco-Roman world and in the Old Testament. "Inasmuch as Israel was thought of as a theocracy with the human king acting as God's viceregent, the association of Temple and king was natural."¹² To show this connection, he offers examples of some disturbances between the last days of Herod the Great (ca. 4 BCE) and 33 CE. During the period, "the temple was a likely place for an eruption of nationalistic fervor to occur."¹³ However, even Kinman is not free of the religion/politics dichotomy. Analyzing Jesus' entry into and "cleansing" of the temple (Luke 19:45–46), despite similarities with Roman triumphal entries, as a portrayal of Jesus presenting a political challenge to the rulers, Kinman argues that Luke takes pains to minimize "the political implication of the account (with respect to the actions of Jewish nationalists)." Instead, Jesus in Luke "expels greedy profiteers from the temple." Advertently, Kinman implies that Jewish nationalism is the only way of "political" resistance against the Empire. Though he may dissociate Jesus in Luke from Jewish nationalism, this does not automatically prove that Jesus is not political. Does he assume that the expulsion of the greedy profiteers is not "political," even though their profit is necessarily protected by the rulers of the temple? As Joseph B. Tyson points out in his review (*JBL* 116 [1997]: 747), Kinman's thesis leads one "to ask why, if he intended to down-play the resemblances between Jesus' entry and those of political leaders, he did not simply omit the narrative altogether." A binary division between religion and politics is simply not supported by Luke's description of the spaces. As Tyson mentions, the temple in Luke is the space of contention for power,¹⁴ and Jesus

¹¹ Conzelmann, *Theology*, 75.

¹² Brent Kinman, *Jesus' Entry into Jerusalem: In the Context of Lukan Theology and the Politics of His Day* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), 146.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 146–148.

¹⁴ Tyson, *Destruction*, 104.

enters the temple while his disciples are praising him as a king.¹⁵

Drawing once again on Doreen Massey's definition of space, as conceptualized integrally with time and differentiated from place, the city of Jerusalem becomes the *space* of the imperial system only in association with the *time* of darkness. Time is crucial. In the infancy narrative, the city does not yet appear as the space of the Jerusalem leadership but as the location of the temple (2:22–38, 41–52). Also, 2:38 speaks of those who are looking for the redemption of Jerusalem. There is no opponent of Jesus in the city yet. Even in the passion narrative, the scene of the Passover meal is placed “in the city” (22:10), probably Jerusalem. However, the last supper is prepared in a confidential place (22:7–13),¹⁶ and the overpowering of the imperial religion/politics does not explicitly operate yet, though it is anticipated (22:6). It is not yet “your hour” (22:53).

Luke's construction of space-time and eschatology

The element of time in Luke's construction of space has an eschatological connection. A contrast between the time of Jesus and the power of darkness occurs not only between the two separate sections of Luke's narrative—Jesus' activity in the temple (19:45–21:38) and his passion (22: 54–23:56)—but also within Jesus' end-time discourse (21:5–36). There is an eschatological contrast between, on the one hand, the painful and unstable reality of the audience, drawn in a dismal picture, and on the other, the future coming of the Son of Man. As the narrated persecutions in the discourse (21:12–19) anticipates what occurs to Jesus himself in the following passion narrative (and also, to the apostles in Acts), the powers of “darkness” against Jesus correspond with the gloomy reality of the audience. The space-time of Jesus, *the temple in daytime* (19:45–21:38), becomes a prolepsis of the eschatological Reign of God rather than a simple description of narrative fact. The quantitative length and area of

¹⁵ Ibid., 131–132.

¹⁶ Luke does not mention that the “upper room” (22:12) is a secret place. However, the preceding passage (22:1–6) sets up a context where the Jerusalem leadership's plot to seize Jesus with the collaboration of Judas Iscariot casts an ominous shadow over the scene. Because Jesus' last supper with only his apostles (22:14) could provide a good “opportunity to betray him to them in the absence of the multitude” (22:6), the Passover meal would need to be set in a secret context.

Jesus' space-time (19:45–21:38) may seem virtually insignificant in comparison with the “global” and seemingly everlasting command of the Empire. Nevertheless, the narrative length of Jesus' discourse in the temple (more than two chapters)¹⁷ is quantitatively similar to the description of his passion (22:54–23:56) and suggests that Jesus' daytime-in-the-temple predominance over the Jerusalem leaders representing the imperial religious/political system is very significant in Luke's narrative. Jesus' presence overpowering the temple in daytime anticipates what will occur in the future coming of the Son of Man (21:27), while the gloomy reality of the audience would reflect the “power of darkness” (22:53). Jesus' statement at the Sanhedrin supports this eschatological connotation. Responding to the question of the leaders in the city of Jerusalem, the space of the power of darkness, Jesus predicts that the eschatological *Son of Man* will be seated at the right of *the power of God* (22:69).¹⁸ Thus, the contrast between the two frames of space-time is not only religious/political but also eschatological.

Luke's description of Jesus' debates with the leaders and his eschatological warnings against them in the temple (19:45–21:38) displays a struggle for power over the space, a territorial dispute (20:2). The narrative of Jesus predominating in the temple can be understood as Luke's claim to the space. It is interesting that he does not attempt to eternalize the place. Rather, he warns of the destruction of the temple buildings (21:6). This is a very different sense of time and desire from that of a modernist architect. Karsten Harries maintains that architecture is not only about domesticating space, not only the wrestling and shaping of a livable place from empty space. For him, architecture also offers a deep defense against “the terror of time,” and the “language of beauty” is “the language of a timeless reality.” In a modernist aesthetic, to create a beautiful object “is to link time and eternity” so as to redeem humanity from time's tyranny. Harries also suggest that the urge to “devalue time” appears as the artist's will to redeem through creation of a work “strong enough to still

¹⁷ Note that, in comparison with Mark, Luke doubles the length of Jesus' teaching in the temple (19:47–21:38), and changes the setting of the end-time discourse (21:5–36) from the Mount of Olives (Mark 13:3) to the temple.

¹⁸ Joel B. Green also asserts that Luke contrasts the term, “power of God,” with the “power of darkness.” See his *The Gospel of Luke* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1997), 796.

time.”¹⁹ This aesthetic thrust of modernism, the attempt to preserve time, reveals its advocate’s positive view of reality. For Luke, however, who is living in the “gloomy days,” the view of desired reality is not conservation but change. Rather than eternalizing time through his construction, Luke attempts to create a novel space-time, an alternative space-time, destructing the “beautiful stones” that represent the wealth of the power of darkness (21:1, 5).²⁰ Rather than seeking “to link time [as it is] and eternity,” Luke connects his creative space with an alternative eschatology.

Luke’s treatment of space is probably a deliberate result of his being an exile.²¹ Luke’s obsessional focus on the city of Jerusalem, for example, is observed by many scholars,²² and Conzelmann assigns the first major section of *The Theology of St. Luke* to the “Geographical Elements in the Composition of Luke’s Gospel.”²³ In his cartographical study of Luke, Makeal C. Parsons distinguishes the topographical

¹⁹ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1990), 206. Harvey finds Harries’ argument among “the aesthetic thrust of modernism,” which strives “for the sense of eternity in the midst of flux.” For Harvey, Harries emphasizes space rather than time. “The aim of spatial constructs is not to illuminate temporal reality so that [we] might feel more at home in it, but to be relieved of it; to abolish time within time, if only for a time.” David’s quotation is from Karsten Harries, “Building and the Terror of Time,” *Perspecta: the Yale Architectural Journal* 19 (1982): 59–69.

²⁰ For further discussion of the destruction of the temple and Luke’s construction of space, see discussion in pages 100–102 and 107–109.

²¹ There is no fixed opinion concerning whether Luke was a gentile Christian or a diasporic Jew. Either context, or somewhere between the two poles, places Luke in an exile situation, whether in national or cultural identity. As an exile, Luke likely could not find a place comfortable to him. Concerning some contemporary postcolonial theorists’ “exile” situation and their topological imagination, those of Edward Said and Homi Bhabha in particular, see pages 27–36 in chapter one.

²² Tyson, *Destruction*, 88ff., argues that Jerusalem is the “hinge of Luke-Acts.” He sees that Jerusalem in Luke-Acts serves both as the goal of Jesus’ ministry (Luke 23:5; Acts 10:37–39) and as the place from which the witnessing will go forth to the end of the earth (Luke 24:49; Acts 1:8). In the same vein, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke (X–XXIV)* (AB 28A; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company: 1985), 164–171, argues that Jerusalem functions for Luke as “the navel of the earth,” “city of destiny,” and “pivot” of Luke-Acts. See also Luke Timothy Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke* (SPS 3; Collegeville, Minn.: The Liturgical Press, 1991), 11, who maintains, “The geographical structure of Luke-Acts makes Jerusalem the center of Luke’s narrative.”

²³ Conzelmann, *Theology*, 18–94. He argues that the course of Jesus’ ministry in the gospel is geographically structured in three parts: Galilee (4:1–9:50), the journey (9:51–19:27), and Jerusalem. Tyson, in *Death*, 85–86, points out that Conzelmann omits the infancy narratives (Luke 1–2) without fully explaining the reasons. William David Davies also maintains that the distinction between the time of John the

map from the geographical map. He points out how the topographical map draws the physical features of the earth, depicting “spatial relationships that would be observed from an aerial photograph or a relief map,” while the geographical map “refers to spatial areas which are defined by human-made boundaries of civic or governmental units.” Although the second category clearly involves political relations, Parsons does not mention any power relations associated with Luke’s cartography.²⁴ These scholars do not acknowledge the nature of a space formed by the social relations “inevitably and everywhere imbued with power.”²⁵ Nor are they able to lift out the relations between space and time in Luke’s narrative construction.²⁶

Because imperialism is related to the geographical expansion of territories, Luke’s narrative creation of space can be understood as his own way of facing imperialism. Through his narrative construction of the temple, Luke seeks to shape a space free from the influence of the Empire. However, he is still not free of the era in which the Roman Empire is the predominant power. He is able to find an “actually” free space only in the future, in the coming of the Son of Man. Such a space could provide a form of escape from direct struggle against the Empire. The formation of such a space in the future means that Luke neither condones the Empire nor gives up the free space, the Reign of God. Rather, he considers his contemporary context as the power of darkness and envisions an alternative space-time.

Baptist and that of Jesus would be possible only if we remove the first three chapters of Luke. For Davies, Conzelmann’s distinction of geography and time does not match the text of the gospel, because Luke does not separate Galilee from Judea but regards them geographically, nationally, and religiously as a unit. See W.D. Davies, *The Gospel and the Land: Early Christianity and Jewish Territorial Doctrine* (Berkeley, Ca.: University of California Press, 1974), 248–250.

²⁴ Mikeal C. Parsons, “The Place of Jerusalem on the Lukan Landscape: An Exercise in Symbolic Cartography,” in *Literary Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays in Honor of Joseph B. Tyson* (eds. Richard P. Thompson and Thomas E. Phillips; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998), 155–171.

²⁵ Massey, *Space*, 3.

²⁶ For a synoptic study alert to the social nature of place, see Halver Moxnes, *Putting Jesus in His Place: a Radical Vision of Household and Kingdom* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2003). Although Moxnes seems not familiar with the differentiation of space from place, he acknowledges, “to be in a place, to be ‘placed,’ does not just imply geographical location.” He thinks of, for instance, “social, ideological, or mental places in terms of gender, ideology, or power.” Moxnes’ awareness of the relationship between the place and the social relations helps him, for example, to find the cultural construction of families in the infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke. See pages 2, 32ff. of his book.

In summary, Luke 22:53 contrasts the two frames of space-time: the temple in daytime (19:45–21:38) and the city of Jerusalem in the time of darkness (22:47–23:56). The two space-times represent two systems of religion/politics in conflict with each other. While Jesus overpowers the Jerusalem leadership in the daytime temple, the power of darkness—the Jewish and Roman authorities who follow the imperial religion/politics—predominates in the city of Jerusalem. Luke also constructs his notion of space-time on his eschatology, through which the time of darkness represents the painful, unstable context of the audiences, and Jesus’ predominance in the daytime temple symbolizes the coming reign of the Son of Man.

Between the two spaces (Luke 22:1–53)

Placed between the two narrative space-times, between the temple (19:45–21:38) and the city of Jerusalem in the power of darkness (22:54–23:56), Luke 22:1–53 is not a static place-holder but conveys a power-shift between the two spaces. In this transition, “Satan” intervenes through “Judas Iscariot,” and these two narrative characters together play an essential role in the completion of the plot against Jesus (v 3).²⁷ The in-between passage (22:1–53) serves to clarify the nature of the two space-times. Satan’s intervention reveals the evil of the “power of darkness,” and Jesus teaches his disciples how the two religious/political systems are managed in different ways (22:24–27).

The passage (Luke 22:1–53) has an independent literary structure: the conspiracy of Judas Iscariot with Jerusalem leadership (vv 1–6) and its accomplishment (vv 47–53) enclose the Passover meal and Jesus’ prayer at the Mount of Olives (vv 7–46). While Judas takes part in the leaders’ plot against his own master, Jesus prepares his

²⁷ Besides Satan and Judas, the “officers” (στρατηγοίς, v 4) or the “officers of the temple guard” (στρατηγοίς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, v 52) appear for the first time in Luke, and they also play an important role in seizing Jesus. While Luke uses a mythical character, Satan, in order to portray the power-shift, he also describes Jesus’ arrest in a realistic way. The plural noun, “officers,” implies that several units of the temple guards are employed to seize Jesus. Although the people are not present in the Mount of Olives (cf. 22:6), a “crowd” (ὄχλος) of forces need to be employed to seize Jesus (22:47), because he is surrounded by the “multitude” (πλήθος) of the disciples (19:37; cf. ὄχλος πολλὸς μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ in 6:17).

disciples and himself for the coming trials and crucifixion. The literary structure can be summarized into the following table:

- A. Judas affected by Satan taking part in the plot against Jesus (vv 1–6)
- B. Jesus preparing his disciples and himself for the trials (vv 7–46)
- A'. The plot fulfilled and “your hour” begins (vv 47–53)²⁸

Through this pattern, though the evil plot against Jesus is seemingly fulfilled, Luke suggests that Jesus’ suffering is in his pre-knowledge (vv 21–22) and even predetermined by God (vv 22a, 53).

The satanic intervention and the power-shift (vv 3–6, 53)

Conzelmann describes the occurrence of Satan in 22:3 as its “return,”²⁹ and considers the return as a temporal marker in his theory of salvation history, which distinguishes his “period of Church” from his “period of Jesus.” For him, the work of Satan characterizes the period of Church under stress, and the phrase “your hour” (ὑμῶν ἡ ὥρα, Luke 22:53) “contains an allusion to the situation of the [period of] Church.” However, as William David Davies points out, the work of Satan is not clearly distinguished between the ministry of Jesus and the period of Church. Davies questions:

What are we to make of passages such as 10:18; 11:14–28; 13:10–17, where Satan, though otherwise named, is presumed to be active? The Galilean period was not free of the demonic nor does Luke seem to emphasize that Satan was at work in the period of Church, after the Resurrection. (Satan appears in Acts only twice as a tempter at 5:3; 13:10.)³⁰

Moreover, Conzelmann’s demarcation between the second and third period, i.e., between periods of Jesus and of Church is not a clear one. While Conzelmann specifies in the introduction to *The Theology*

²⁸ Just as Luke 21:37–38 encloses and summarizes the preceding discourse in the temple (19:47–21:38) and at the same time prepares for the following section, Luke 22:47–53 describes a fulfillment of the plot (22:1–6) and at the same time prepares for the following section, in which the “power of darkness” prevails.

²⁹ This term, “return,” presupposes that Satan has been away from Jesus’ ministry for a while since the temptation (4:1–12) and has not worked at all until it is present again at 22:3. Note the temporal mark, “until an opportune time” (ἄχρι καιροῦ) in 4:12.

³⁰ Davies, *Land*, 250.

of *St. Luke* that the third period begins at the Ascension,³¹ in another place he mentions that Satan's entering into Judas Iscariot (Luke 22:3) completes a circle of salvation history, for Satan is now present again. "Now the period of salvation, as it was described in 4:18–21, is over, and the Passion, which is described by Luke, and also by John, as a work of Satan, is beginning."³² Against Conzelmann's three-fold structure of salvation history, the work of Satan characterizes both the passion of Jesus (the second period as a history of the past) and the suffering of the Church under stress (the third period as the time of the audience), connecting rather than separating the two periods. As Conzelmann also suggests, Luke and his church find similarities between their own situations of persecution and Jesus' suffering. For Luke and his Church, Conzelmann maintains, Jesus of the Mount of Olives is the representative of martyrs, "the martyr facing the decision as to whether he should accept martyrdom."³³ Here in his description of the last stage of Jesus' life, Conzelmann intimates inadvertently that Luke does not treat the account just as history of the past; rather, he existentially identifies it with his own situation of persecution. Contrary to Conzelmann's own scheme of salvation history, Luke presents Jesus in the passion narrative as a model of his followers who are suffering from the "power of darkness," from the imperial religion/politics.

Conzelmann's understanding of Satan as a reference of temporal transition, especially in relation to "your hour" (22:53), is worth further consideration. Reading the two passages in parallel (vv 1–6 and 47–53), Satan entering into Judas Iscariot accomplishes the plot against Jesus and opens the "hour" of Jesus' enemies. As John Nolland observes, "darkness," "power," and "Satan" are drawn together in Acts 26:18 ("to open their eyes so that they may turn from *darkness* to light and from the *power* of *Satan* to God. . ."),³⁴ a piece of evidence that supports a Lukan connection between Satan and the "power of darkness."³⁵ Davies' insight is that Satan works during

³¹ Conzelmann, *Theology*, 16.

³² *Ibid.*, 80.

³³ *Ibid.*, 83.

³⁴ John Nolland, *Luke 18:35–24:53* (WBC 35C; Dallas, Tex.: Word Books, 1982), 1089.

³⁵ Concerning the connection between Satan and the darkness, in addition to Conzelmann and Nolland, see Green, *Gospel*, 785; Robert C. Tannehil, *Luke* (Nashville, Tenn: Abingdon, 1996), 325; Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News according to Luke* (tr.

Jesus' Galilean ministry (10:18; 11:14–28; 13:10–17), but in Galilee, Satan does not have any influence upon Jesus' activity.³⁶ What matters in Luke's temporal differentiation is the *power* of Satan rather than Satan's existence. Satan prompts the power-shift between the two time-spaces, opening "your hour," in which the "power of darkness," i.e., the religion/politics of the Empire prevails.

The satanic intervention results in divisions within the camp of Jesus. Judas Iscariot betrays his master (Luke 22:3–6, 47–53). Peter's denial of Jesus is also related to the Satan (v 31). With the devil's assistance, Judas finds a "good chance" to isolate Jesus from the support of the people (22:6). While the people form a buffer between Jesus and the leaders in the temple, the authorities insulate Jesus from the people in the city of Jerusalem. Not only Jesus is isolated from the people, but the people also lose connection with Jesus. It is remarkable that the division occurs not only in Jesus' side but also in the camp of the Empire: there is a split between Pilate and the Jerusalem leaders. The division and betrayal characterize the time when the power of darkness prevails.³⁷

Luke's use of the Greek term, ἐξουσία, which is translated into "authority," "power," or "jurisdiction," also supports a connection between Satan and the imperial system. While in the first part of the Gospel, Satan or the devil contends with Jesus for authority (4:6, 36; 9:1; 10:18–19),³⁸ all five occurrences of the noun, ἐξουσία, in 19:45–23:56³⁹ indicate the power or jurisdiction of those who represent the imperial system or describe their conflict with Jesus. The Jerusalem leaders contest with Jesus for *authority* (20:2, 8); they depend on the *authority* of the Roman governor (20:20; cf. 12:11);⁴⁰ Jesus

David E. Green; Atlanta, Ga.: John Knox, 1984), 345; Frederick W. Danker, *Jesus and the New Age* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 358; David L. Tiede, *Luke* (ACNT; Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1988), 394; and Vincent Taylor, *The Passion Narrative of St Luke* (Cambridge: University Press, 1972), 43. Others maintain that the darkness symbolizes moral evilness. See, e.g., Fitzmyer, *Gospel*, 1452 and Craig Evans, *Luke* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1990), 325.

³⁶ See discussion on page 158.

³⁷ For my further discussion on the split between the two imperial powers, see the section on Jesus' trial before Pilate in page 180–187.

³⁸ In the wilderness, the devil even claims that "all this authority" is delivered to him (Luke 4:6). However, soon after the temptation, Jesus demonstrates his authority by casting out unclean spirits (4:36).

³⁹ These are also the last five occurrences of the term in Luke.

⁴⁰ Johnson, *Gospel*, 383, also observes that the term, ἐξουσία, in 22:53 reminds the reader of 20:20.

belongs to the *jurisdiction* (ἐξουσία) of Herod (23:7); and the *power* of darkness prevails in “your hour” (22:53). These groups that contend with Jesus for authority converge in the “power of darkness,” the phrase by which Luke insinuates the evil nature of the imperial religion/politics as a whole (cf. Luke 3:1–2a).

Herod’s involvement in the trials of Jesus further strengthens the characterization of the city of Jerusalem as a space of the imperial system. As summarized in Luke 3:1–2a, Herod the tetrarch of Galilee—together with other rulers, Pontius Pilate the governor of Judea and the two high priests, Annas and Caiaphas—is integral to the imperial rule over “wider Judea” (an area including Galilee).⁴¹ Redactionally speaking, with the addition of the passage, “Jesus’ trial before Herod” (23:6–12), unique in the gospel parallels, Luke mobilizes all the imperial rulers of wider Judea—including Pilate, Herod, and the high priests—as gathered in the city of Jerusalem to oppose Jesus. This general mobilization of the imperial system against Jesus (Acts 4:25–27) might occur in a similar way against his followers, with the disciples of Jesus brought before the synagogues, the rulers (τὰς ἀρχὰς), and the authorities (τὰς ἐξουσίας), as Jesus is interrogated before the Sanhedrin (22:66–71), Pilate (23:1–5, 13–25), and Herod (23:6–12).⁴² In a similar way, the followers will be delivered up to synagogues and prisons and brought before kings and governors (21:12).

The political ethics of the two spaces: domination and service (22:24–30)

While the satanic intervention (22:3–6, 47–53) discloses the mythical background of the predominance or authority of the imperial system, Jesus’ farewell address at the Passover meal (vv 24–27) displays how the two religious/political systems manage authority in different ways (vv 24–27).⁴³ Responding to the apostles’ quarrel about which of them is to be regarded as the greatest, Jesus says:

⁴¹ Sometimes in Luke, “Judea” indicates a wider area including Galilee and probably Samaria (e.g. 23:5). For convenience, I name the area the “wider Judea.”

⁴² Note that the terms are applied to Pilate and Herod in Luke. In 20:20, the Jerusalem leadership attempts to hand Jesus over to the authority and jurisdiction (τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ) of the Roman governor. The noun, ἀρχή, is used seven times in Luke-Acts (Luke 1:2; 12:11; 20:20; Acts 10:11; 11:5, 15; 26:4). It is related to political power only in 21:11, where the persecutions against Jesus followers are described, and in 20:20, where it indicates the “authority” or “jurisdiction” of Pilate. Elsewhere, it means “beginning” (Luke 1:2; Acts 11:15; 26:4) or “corner” (10:11; 11:5). In addition, Galilee is under Herod’s jurisdiction (ἐξουσία).

⁴³ The placing of this passage in the passion narratives is unique to Luke. Luke

²⁵“The kings of the Gentiles lord it over them; and those who exercise authority over them are called benefactors. ^{26a}But not so with you; ^{26b}rather let the greatest among you become like the youngest, and the leader like one who serves.” (Luke 22:25–26)

Challenging the scholarly consensus that the “kings” and “those in authority” are presented as an antitype for the disciples, David J. Lull and Paul Walaskay present an interesting thesis that, in this verse, Jesus provides the rulers as positive models of “benefactors” worthy of imitation.⁴⁴ For Lull, the saying about rulers who are called benefactors (v 25) does not illustrate a form of “tyranny masked by public works,” but the saying describes “an ideal well known in the Greco-Roman world and exemplified in Jesus,” who is the “servant-benefactor par excellence.”⁴⁵ While “but not so with you” (v 26a) are generally interpreted as prescriptive, admonishing the apostles not to be like the rulers, Lull argues that the phrase is descriptive, a warning that the apostles have not been following the positive models in the preceding verse: “they are called benefactors, but you are not [called] thus [namely, benefactors].”⁴⁶ Although this position

22:24–27 is the only significant bulk of material that Luke takes from Mark that is placed outside the Markan passion narratives, and Luke 22:28–30 is the only sayings from Q (cf. Matt 19:28) in the Lukan passion narratives.

⁴⁴ David J. Lull, “The Servant-Benefactor as a Model of Greatness (Luke 22:24–30),” *Novum Testamentum* 28.4 (1986): 289–305. Three years before Lull published his article, Paul W. Walaskay presented a similar though more concise thesis based on similar observations. See Walaskay, *‘And So We Came to Rome’: The Political Perspective of St Luke* (Cambridge: University Press, 1983), 36–37.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 295–296, 303.

⁴⁶ For Lull, v 26b (“let the greatest among you become like the youngest, and the leader like one who serves.”) is Jesus’ instruction showing how the apostles also can be called benefactors. In other words, the instruction (v 26b) is “the application of the thesis to the apostles’ situation,” which “is stated positively, in contrast to the previous negative statement” (v 26a). He continues:

v 26b is a command which presupposes that some are or will be ‘greater’ (ὁ μείζων ἐν ὑμῖν γινέσθω ὡς . . .), and that some are or will be rulers (ὁ ἡγούμενος [ἐν ὑμῖν γινέσθω] ὡς . . .). This command does not reject official status (cf. μείζων in vv 24, 26, and 27) and power (cf. ἡγούμενος in v 26), which are popular criteria of ‘greatness’; rather, it subordinates them to notion of ‘service’ or ‘servanthood,’ expressed by the title ὁ νεώτερος (‘the younger’) as well as by ὁ διακονῶν (‘the one who serves’). Although the term ‘benefactor’ does not reappear in v 26b, the notion of ‘benefiting others’ is implied in the term διακονῶν, which belongs to the same semantic field as the term εὐεργέτης. Similarly, ‘monarchs’ and ‘those who have authority’ (v 25) correspond to ‘the greater’ and ‘the one who rules’ (v 26b). In short, the central term of the thesis in v 25, namely, ‘benefactor,’ is applied to the situation of the apostles’ dispute over who is the ‘greatest’: those who use their power to benefit and serve others are ‘the greatest.’ See *Ibid.*, 296–297.

is not convincing and hardly followed by scholars, it does not seem that the criticisms offered against it, for instance by Peter K. Nelson and Halvor Moxnes, are exhaustive enough to refute the argument. Lull's thesis suggests a significant aspect that deserves further hermeneutical discussion: a concern with the influence of ideology on the reader.

Nelson and Moxnes critique Lull for failing to illuminate the contrast between the description of the rulers and benefactors (v 25) on one hand, and the imagery of "servant" and "young" (v 26) on the other, "a contrast which is obvious also in the parallel passage 9:46–48," in which Jesus draws on a child as an example for his disciples debating who among them is greatest.⁴⁷ In 22:26b–27, Nelson raises contrast pairs between the greatest/leader/diner, which he names *Position A*, and the youngest/servant/table-servant, which he names *Position B*. Because Jesus identifies himself with *Position B* (v 27bc), Nelson argues, "Luke is commending these low-power, lower-status roles in some way."⁴⁸ Important as it is, Nelson's contrast between the two positions (A and B) does not fully consider that Jesus' instruction is being given to the *leaders* or *rulers* of the coming Reign of God (vv 29–30).⁴⁹ His argument does not fundamentally differ from Lull's, because the latter also realizes the contrast between the two positions. Lull maintains that the passage presents the "servant-benefactor" model for the rulers among the disciples (v 26).⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Halvor Moxnes, "Patron-Client Relations and the New Community in Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation* (ed. Jerome H. Neyrey; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1991), 261.

⁴⁸ Peter K. Nelson, "The Flow of Thought in Luke 22:24–27," *JSNVT* 43 (1991): 117. See also his dissertation, *Leadership and Discipleship: A Study of Luke 22:24–30* (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars, 1994).

⁴⁹ Nelson, "Flow," 119. He also acknowledges that "Lukan Jesus does not want the apostles to forsake their duties as leaders in the community."

⁵⁰ The cognate terms of those in v 25 are also used to describe Jesus elsewhere in Luke. When Jesus enters into the temple, the multitude of disciples calls Jesus the "king" who comes in the name of the "Lord" (Luke 19:38). Jesus is executed as the "king" of the Jews (Luke 23:2, 3, 37, 38). Throughout Luke-Acts, the "Lord" is the title of God (mainly in the first part of Luke; e.g., 1:6, 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 25, 28, etc.) and Jesus (e.g., Luke 1:43; 2:11; 5:8, 12; 6:5, 46; 7:6, 13, 19, etc.). As quoted positively in Lull's article, Frederick W. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St. Louis, Miss.: Clayton Publishing House, 1982), proposes that the Gospel of Luke presents Jesus as "benefactor" par excellence. For Lull, contrary to Danker, Luke's uses of such terms would not be alternative to but affirming the exercises of rulers. Lull, "Servant-Benefactor," 290, criticizes Danker by asking, "Why, however, would Luke portray Jesus as the benefactor *par excellence* and then associate the term with its antitype? It is odd that, in

Both Nelson and Lull fail to underscore how that the kings and rulers (v 25) are offered as negative models within the boundary of the passage (22:24–30).⁵¹

Contrary to Lull, Jesus' instruction in Luke 22:25–27 does not directly answer the question, "Which of them is to be regarded as the greatest?" (v 24). This question does not matter to Jesus; it is the disciples' concern. Because he will confer the Reign of God to all those apostles (vv 28–30), Jesus is concerned with how they will exercise the leadership conferred on them (22:29–30). The significant question is not how to obtain greatness but how the great are to behave.⁵² The chiasmic structure of Luke 22:25bc supports this reading of the passage, as focused not on how leaders are called but on how they exercise their leadership. What v 25c emphasizes (A' and B' in the table) is not how rulers are called but how the "benefactors" behave:

a Gospel for which the figure of the benefactor provides the terms of its interpretation of Jesus, the title "benefactor" (εὐεργέτης) should be used in a pejorative sense in its only occurrence." Lull's question should be answered against the conflict between the religious/political systems, the two frames of space-time in tension.

⁵¹ Lull, "Servant-Benefactor," 290–291, argues that the pejorative translations of Mark 10:42 ("lord it over them" and "make them feel the weight of authority," *NEB* and *the Jerusalem Bible*), where the verbs κατακυριεύειν and κατεξουσιάζειν are used, are incorrectly carried over into Luke 22:25, where the κατ- prefix is absent. With the support of Clark's study of the Greek lexical and the fifth edition of Bauer's *Wörterbuch*, Lull argues that such pejorative translations of κυριεύειν and ἐξουσιάζειν are not proper for Luke 22:25. He prefers neutral or even positive translation. Walaskay presents a similar argument, using the same source, W. Bauer and K.W. Clark. See Walaskay, 'So We Came To Rome', 85 n. 121. For Lull (304), Luke-Acts is filled with characters who embody the ideal of the servant-benefactors, including Herod, Pilate, and other Roman officials. Thus, Lull's interpretation of Luke 22:24–30 is well harmonized with the theses on "political apology for the church to Rome" (Conzelmann) or "apology for Rome to the church" (Walaskay), the positions arguing that "Luke-Acts presents a generally favorable picture of Roman officials." See also Nelson's contention with Lull. Nelson, "Flow," 120, maintains: "Lull concedes that the 'monarchs' and 'those who have authority' (v 25) correspond to 'the greater' and 'the one who rules' (v 26bc), but he does not observe that this correspondence necessarily pits the kings and rulers along with those who represent *Position A* against the servant Jesus and against the force of the imperative in v 26b. Indeed, the social and political similarities of the kings/rulers (v 25) and the greatest/leader/diner (vv 26b–27) are very strong. Alternatively, no such similarities exist between the kings/rulers and the youngest/servant/table-servant. Clearly the kings and rulers must take their place in *the logical flow of vv 25–27* as figures contrasted with the servant Jesus, and, accordingly, as negative examples." *Italic* is mine.

⁵² Moxnes, "Patron-Client Relations," 260–261.

A. οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν	(The kings of the Gentiles)
B. κυριεύουσιν αὐτῶν	(lord it over them)
B'. καὶ οἱ ἐξουσιάζοντες αὐτῶν	(and those who exercise authority over them)
A'. εὐεργέται καλοῦνται.	(are called benefactors)

While v 25 describes how the rulers in the Roman world (who belong to the religion/politics of the Empire) exercise their leadership, vv 26–27 show how the apostles, who are addressed in second person plural,⁵³ should exercise their leadership in the Reign of God (the religion/politics of Jesus' God). The kings of the Gentiles “lord it over them” (κυριεύουσιν αὐτῶν) and those who are called benefactors “exercise authority over them” (ἐξουσιάζοντες αὐτῶν). However, the apostles are to be different. The greatest among them should “become as the youngest” (γινέσθω ὡς ὁ νεώτερος), and one who rules should become as “one who serves” (ὡς ὁ διακονῶν). This contrast can be summarized as follows:

<i>Leaders</i>	<i>Way of leadership</i>
Kings	lord it over them
The so-called benefactors	exercise authority
The greatest <i>among you</i>	become as the youngest
One who rules <i>among you</i>	become as one who serves

The table shows that Luke 22:25–27 is not mainly a contrast between rulers and servants, which Nelson names *Position A* and *B*, but between two kinds of *leadership*. The model Luke encourages might be called “servant-benefactor” just as Lull titles his article. However, contrary to Lull, the kings and the “benefactors” are an *anti-type* of the “servant-benefactor.” Luke’s use of the term “benefactor” probably alludes the Roman patron-client system, a system of social relations in which a patron or “benefactor” (εὐεργέτης) is expected to provide “social, economic, and political resources” to a client, who in return, gives “expressions of loyalty and honor that are useful for the patron.”⁵⁴ This is what is described in v 25c: the “benefactors” exercise authority over the clients (ἐξουσιάζοντες αὐτῶν)⁵⁵ as the reward of “benefaction.”

⁵³ Concerning the contrast between the uses of second person and third person, refer to David L. Tiede, “The Kings of the Gentiles and the Leader Who Serves: Luke 22:24–30,” *Word & World* 12.1 (1992): 25.

⁵⁴ Moxnes, “Patron-Client Relations,” 242.

⁵⁵ Note that this is the only occurrence of the verb, ἐξουσιάζειν, in Luke. It

It is a reciprocity ethic⁵⁶ “based on a strong element of inequality and differences in power.”⁵⁷ Jesus criticizes both the *inequality* and the *reciprocity* of the Roman client system. Although Luke describes Jesus also teaching with authority (4:32), the authority of Jesus is never exercised over his followers but against “unclean spirits” (4:36), against “sin” (5:24), over all “demons” (9:1), over all the “power of the enemy” (10:19), and over death (12:5). Jesus rejects Satan’s offer of the authority over all the kingdoms of the world (4:5–6). Jesus in Luke does not exercise authority to establish his own leadership over people. Jesus not only identifies himself as “one who serves” (22:27) but also warns the Pharisee who invites him that one should not invite those who can invite him in return but invite the poor, the maimed, the lame, and the blind (Luke 14:12–14). At the table prepared by the same Pharisee, Jesus advises those invited that they should not sit down at the place of honor but at the lowest place. Luke presents such a breach of inequality and reciprocity as a condition of reward at the resurrection of the just (vv 12–14). The “servant benefactor” model Luke imagines cannot be established without destroying the Roman patron-client system.

By omitting *κατ-* prefix from Mark 10:42 (*κατακυριεύειν* and *κατεξουσιάζειν*), Luke makes 22:25 (*κυριεύειν* and *ἐξουσιάζειν*) a description of “the normal routine of kings exercising their rule and of those for whom the use of authority is itself a means for gaining status honor.”⁵⁸ Luke’s concern in the text “is not with abuses of the system by which leadership was exercised and legitimated, but with the

resembles Luke’s use of the cognitive noun, *ἐξουσία*, to describe the representatives of imperial religion/politics who contend with Jesus.

⁵⁶ Ian Sloan, “The greatest and the youngest: Greco-Roman reciprocity in the farewell address, Luke 22:24–30,” *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 22.1 (1993): esp. 69.

⁵⁷ Moxnes, “Patron-Client Relations,” 242. For more on the patron-client system, refer to S.N. Eisenstadt and L. Roniger, *Patrons, Clients and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Peter Carnsey and Richard Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); A. Blok, “Variations in Patronage,” *Sociologische Gids* 16 (1969): 365–78. For the system as the background of the New Testament, see Bruce Malina, “Patron and Client: The Analogy Behind Synoptic Theology,” *Forum* 4 (1988): 2–32; Moxnes, *The Economy of the Kingdom* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1988); and Frederick W. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1982).

⁵⁸ Green, *Gospel*, 767–768. For the argument of Lull and Walaskay concerning Luke’s use of the verbs, (*κατα*)*κυριεύειν* and (*κατ*)*ἐξουσιάζειν*, see footnote 51.

nature of the system itself.”⁵⁹ While in its closest context Jesus’ instruction (vv 24–27) is to correct his disciples’ concern with status honor (which is compared with the scribes who represent the ethics of the imperial system, 19:45–21:4), it should be also understood in a wider context. Jesus is teaching on the coming Reign of God at the table of Passover, the Jewish celebration of liberation from Egypt. Reading from this context, because Roman imperialism was an empire-wide patron-client system “based on a strong element of inequality and differences in power,” in which the Emperor—not a servant—is a model of benefactor, Luke’s criticism of the patron-client system would likely be understood as a disapproval of the way the Empire is going on.⁶⁰

Moreover, during the Passover meal, Jesus presents his crucifixion as a model of “service-benefaction.” Jesus not only identifies himself as “one who serves at the table” (22:27) but he himself also serves at the table of Passover meal. He serves the apostles by distributing the cup (vv 17, 20) and the bread (v 18), the food which symbolizes his own life given on their behalf (vv 19, 20).⁶¹ Jesus’ farewell address (22:24–30), together with the last supper, offers an interpretation of Jesus’ crucifixion: Jesus “serves” his body and blood in his death on behalf of his followers. The service of Jesus carries a double implication, providing food (life) and also humbling himself as the youngest (cf. 9:48) and servant (22:26–27).⁶² Jesus displays a significant ethical and political aspect of the Reign of God: leaders

⁵⁹ Ibid., 768.

⁶⁰ Green explains how Augustus conceptualized and organized the Roman society as a network of overlapping patron-client systems, ultimately with everyone indebted to the emperor as benefactor. He also shows that “the hierarchy of patron relations extended beyond the sphere of humans so as to include the gods.” In this way, “the political order, the binding ethic of patronage, was rooted in the divine.” Green continues, “in calling into question the Roman social order, implicated as it was in the ethic of patronage, Jesus called into question the gods in whom that system received sanction and substituted in their stead the God of Abraham, the Lord of Israel, Yahweh.” See Joel B. Green, *The Theology of the Gospel of Luke* (Cambridge: University Press, 1995), 119–121.

⁶¹ Lull, “The Servant-Benefactor,” 298–299.

⁶² A comparison with Luke 12:35–37 supports the connection between the farewell address’ Passover context and its eschatological implication. Interpreting the phrase, “waists girded and lamps burning” (12:35), Crispin H.T. Fletcher-Louis suggests that the exact wording of ὑμῶν αἱ ὀσφύες περιεζωσμέναι is found only at LXX Exodus 12:11, which describes the preparation on the night of flight from Egypt. Though Exodus 12 does not mention the lightening of lights, the fact that exodus took place at night supports its inter-textuality with “lamps burning.” Fletcher-Louis

do not dominate but serve. Jesus confers the Reign of God to his apostles, but the twelve may not monopolize it. Jesus has already declared that the Reign of God is of the poor (Luke 6:20) and that God has been pleased to give the Reign to his “little flock” (12:32). Just as Jesus serves the twelve at the table, they are expected to serve the poor and little, the recipients of the Reign of God (cf. 12:41–48). Jesus’ crucifixion presented as a model of “service-benefaction” implies a refutation of the Empire. Luke interprets Jesus’ death as an example of the alternative way of managing authority and leadership in the religion/politics of God. In Jesus’ crucifixion, not only does the Empire reject Jesus, but Jesus rejects the Empire.

It is interesting that Lull attempts an ideological critique of certain interpretations of Luke 22:24–30. Lull attributes the pejorative interpretations of “benefactor” to the “anti-aristocratic ideology” of some late nineteenth-century intellectuals. Lull contends that Adolf Deissmann, whom he presents as an “influential representative” of this late nineteenth-century ideology, *assumes* that Jesus mentioned the title “benefactor” with contempt, without Deissmann’s spelling out a reason. Lull does not temper his critique, however, by revealing his own critical ideology, disguised with an objective exegesis. He never mentions how his own ideology influences his own interpretation. If a nineteenth-century anti-aristocratic ideology is at work in Deissmann, isn’t it likely that an ideology of twentieth-century neo-imperialism influences Lull, as he chooses to identify Jesus in Luke with rulers of the Empire?⁶³

continues, “Since Lk 12:37b—the description of the Lord’s coming to his servants and reversing roles by serving them—is related to the Lukan version of Jesus’ last Passover meal in Jerusalem, that verse would also suit very well an exodus context.” See Fletcher-Louis, “The Gospel Thief Saying (Luke 12:39–40 and Matthew 24:43–44) Reconsidered,” in *Understanding, Studying and Reading: New Testament Essays in Honour of John Ashton* (eds. Christopher Rowland and idem.; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1998), 50–51.

⁶³ My historical and cultural analysis of the US hegemony in South Korea informs that the same term, “benefactor,” can be understood in various ways. For those who have profited from the hegemonic system, Americans are respected as “benefactors.” However, for those who have been victimized by the US presence in Korea, the same American influence could be considered as “benefaction” only in a pejorative sense. Such a difference in understanding the reality of the hegemonic hierarchy also affects one’s reading of an ancient text written against the context of imperialism. If one chooses to understand the term, “benefactor,” from the perspective of the Roman Empire, without changing the reality of Empire, it could imply that he or she chooses to align with the Empire or with those who are

The people in-between: an "interstitial" perspective

I have discussed the nature of the two spaces, each representing two systems of religion/politics, and the transition of power from Jesus to the representatives of the imperial system, i.e., from the temple to the city of Jerusalem. This power-shift is highlighted by a change that occurs among the people. While the people are steady supporters of Jesus in the temple, so much so that the Jerusalem leadership fears them, it is surprising that they suddenly join the accusers of Jesus in the city of Jerusalem (23:18–25). The people no longer act as a hindrance to the plot against Jesus (23:27, 35) but become the group that supports the leaders (19:47; 22:66; 23:13) even shouting for Jesus' crucifixion (23:18, 23).

Richard Cassidy argues that Luke does not include the people in those who cry for Jesus' crucifixion (v 18). He emphasizes that the Gospel of Luke portrays the people both before and after the scene as favorable to Jesus. With the support of Alfred Plummer and I. H. Marshall, Cassidy maintains:

In this view Luke depicts Pilate calling the people into the proceedings at this point [vv 13–25] in order to indicate that the governor was trying to halt the forward momentum of the chief priests' efforts. In other words, what Luke is portraying here is Pilate's attempt to counter the pressure being brought by the chief priests and their allies. Having people present who were favorably disposed toward Jesus would facilitate Pilate's efforts to release him. . . . Luke does not specifically indicate who joins in this clamor for Jesus' death and it need not be supposed that the people actually did so. Rather, Luke may have been indicating that the convictions of the chief priests and their allies were so intense that they eventually dominated the scene, sweeping away any objections from persons favorable to Jesus and causing Pilate to overturn his own decision.⁶⁴

benefited by imperialism. It would also mean that he or she accepts the ideology that sustains imperialism, the sense that the empire "benefits" those whom it dominates. For more discussion on Korean history and culture, see pages 11–37 in chapter one and pages 199–203 in Chapter Five.

⁶⁴ Richard J. Cassidy, "Luke's Audience, the Chief Priests, and the Motive for Jesus' Death," in *Political Issues in Luke-Acts* (ed. idem and Philip J. Scharper; Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1983), 151–152. See also Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Luke* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1922), 524; and I.H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1978), 858, 860.

Cassidy's position harmonizes with Luke's description of the people elsewhere in Luke,⁶⁵ but it is not supported by the text "at this point" (vv 13–25). It is hard to argue that Pilate is aware of the people's support of Jesus in Galilee and in the temple. On the contrary, Pilate was not even aware that Jesus was a Galilean (23:6). Some passages in Acts also support a view of the people as among those who kill Jesus (Acts 3:23; 4:25–27). The Jerusalem leaders "stir up" the people, though they accuse Jesus of that very charge (v 5).

Though this "treason" of the people could evoke the reader's wonder and anger, which might be an intention of Luke himself, the potential for sustained anger is diffused, because Luke does not treat the people as having an independent agency. Despite the people's crucial position in the power-shift, the passage in-between is marked by their non-existence (cf. 22:6). This absence of the people can be correlated to the character of the passage in-between (22:1–53) as a *leadership* discourse. The passage describes how the two subjects of power prepare themselves for the power-shift. The Jerusalem lead-

⁶⁵ The noun, "people" (λαός), occurs 36 times in the gospel. Sometimes the people respond to God's salvation work actively: they are praying (1:10); John the Baptist comes to "make ready for the Lord a people prepared" (1:17); thus, they are baptized by John (3:21; 7:29), though the Pharisees and the scribes reject it (7:30); the people are waiting for the Christ (3:15); they come to Jesus to listen to him (6:17; 9:13; 19:48; 21:38); and they praise God as the response to Jesus' deeds (18:43). Luke 23:13–25 is the only passage in the gospel where the people are described in a clearly negative way. Even in this passage, the people are not central in the scene but included in the grammatical "they" who cry altogether to crucify Jesus (vv 18, 21, 23). Luke's use of "crowd" (ὄχλος) or "multitude" (πλήθος) needs to be distinguished from his use of the "people." The first two words just describe a largeness of number, regardless of its composition. The "crowd" includes some different groups such as people, the Jewish leaders (5:17–19; 19:39; 22:47; 23:4), tax collectors (5:29), and disciples (6:17). The "multitude" includes the heavenly host (2:13), fish (5:6), disciples (19:37), the Jewish leaders (23:1), and women mourning the crucifixion (23:27). Contrary to "multitude" and "crowd," Luke mainly indicates with λαός the people of Israel, who are distinguished from the Gentiles (2:31–32), from their leaders (7:29–30; 19:47, 48; 20:1, 6, 9, 19, 26, 45; 21:38; 22:2, 66; 23:5, 13, 14, 27, 35), and from the disciples (6:17; 9:13). Richard S. Ascough compares the crowd scenes in Luke-Acts and in Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, and observes that in both works, the crowds appear as the hearers of stories and teachings and as witnesses of mighty deeds. The presence of crowds highlights the popularity of the protagonists of the story and shows support for them. On the other hand, crowds are involved in disturbances influenced by the opponents. As a whole, the crowds contribute to the narrative flow of the story. Despite his excellent observation that Luke's narrative technique is shared by the ancient Greek novels, Ascough fails to see Luke's differentiation between the "people" and the "crowd"/"multitude." See his "Narrative Technique and Generic Designation: Crowd Scenes in Luke-Acts and in Chariton," *CBQ* 58 (1996): 69ff.

ers with the help of Judas Iscariot possessed by Satan accelerate their plot against Jesus (vv 1–6, 47–53). Meanwhile, at the Passover meal (vv 7–38), Jesus confers the Reign of God on his disciples after he shows how the Reign of God differs from the imperial religion/politics (vv 24–30). Jesus also prepares himself by prayer (vv 39–46). The people, however, are nowhere to be found in the in-between passage, because they are in-between the two power groups, belonging nowhere. This situation distinguishes the people from the disciples, the appointed rulers of the Reign of God (22:29). In Luke, the people are not the persons concerned with the territorial dispute between the representatives of the two space-times. The people are only the object, not the subject, of the power struggle between Jesus and the Jerusalem leadership.

In Luke, the position of the people is an indicator, displaying where the power is, rather than a primary factor actively affecting the power balance between Jesus and his opponents. While Luke's description of the people is mostly positive or neutral, they are nearly always silent and passive. Except for passively wondering at Jesus' miracle (18:43; cf. 7:16), they hardly speak. The people are also distinguished from the disciples and the twelve. When Jesus confers the Reign of God on someone or he proclaims that the Reign belongs to some group in Luke, it is always the disciples or the apostles to whom Jesus speaks (6:20; 12:32; 22:29–30; cf. 8:10, 16–17; 18:29). Although the people are gathering around Jesus, they can be controlled by his antagonists at any time as long as the latter has power (23:13–25; Acts 3:13–15; 4:25, 27; 6:12; 12:11; 21:30, 36, 39, 40; cf. 28:26, 27). For Luke, the people are on the boundary or in-between the two spaces.

Homi Bhabha poses questions of solidarity and community specially from the emergence of such “interstices—the overlap and displacement of domains of difference.” Bhabha attempts to show how subjects are formed “in-between, or in excess of, the sum of the parts of difference (usually intoned as race/class/gender, etc.).” He maintains that meanings and priorities are not always collaborative and dialogical but “profoundly antagonistic, conflictual and even incommensurable” within the competing communities.⁶⁶ From such

⁶⁶ Homi K. Bhabha, “Introduction: Locations of culture,” in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 2–3.

an understanding of culture and identity, Bhabha envisages a project—at once a vision and a construction—that takes one beyond oneself “in order to return, in a spirit of revision and reconstruction, to the political conditions of the present.”⁶⁷ Bhabha’s description of the in-betweenness would offer references useful to understand the position of the people in Luke, who belong everywhere and nowhere at the same time. While they are agreeable to both systems of religion/politics when they are under the power of a particular system, such in-betweenness can also make the people seen “antagonistic, conflictual, and incommensurable” from the perspectives of each system.

Luke’s understanding of the coming Reign of God can be explored from this “interstitial” space, from what Fanon called the “zone of occult instability where the people dwell.”⁶⁸ In general, territory is the rulers’ matter of concern. Rather than participate in the territory dispute as a potential owner, “the people” are often relegated to the lists of booty. The people are without agency and their place may not fundamentally change despite a change of their ruler. Fanon’s description of the political situation of some African countries after independence, though written against a different background, can be compared with the situation of the people in Luke:

The political party in many parts of Africa which are today independent is puffed up in a most dangerous way. In the presence of a member of the party, the people are *silent*, behave like a flock of sheep, and publish panegyrics in praise of the government or the leaders. But in the street when evening comes, away from the village, in the cafes or by the river, the bitter disappointment of the people, their despair but also their unceasing anger makes itself heard. . . . This party which used to call itself *the servant of the people*, which used to claim that it worked for the full expression of the people’s will, as soon as the colonial power puts the country into its control[,] hastens to send the people back to their caves.⁶⁹

The silence of the people in a contemporary African context cannot be simply paralleled with the people’s silence in Luke. In Luke,

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Franz Fanon, “On National Culture,” in *The Wretched of the Earth* (tr. by Constance Farrington; New York: Grove Press, 1963), 227. Bhabha uses the expression for his theorization of the “third place.” See Bhabha, “The Commitment to Theory,” in *Location*, 35–39.

⁶⁹ Fanon, “The Pitfalls of National Consciousness,” in *Wretched*, 182–183. *Italic* is mine.

it is not only the nationalist party but also Luke himself, who is oriented toward a rulers' discourse, from which the third space for the people is absent. Perhaps the way the nationalist party calls itself "the servant of the people" is similar to Luke requesting Jesus' disciples to be "servant-benefactors." Yet, if the disciples are rulers of the Reign of God as one who serves, where are the people they should serve?

An interstitial perspective problematizes Luke's binary division between the two spaces, especially the division between Jesus, with whom the Lukan narrator probably identifies himself, and the Jerusalem leadership. As I have discussed in the preceding chapter of the book, Luke describes the leaders as not appealing to God but as totally dependent on the authority "from men," reliant on the power of the Empire. As I have also shown, this binary opposition hardly represents history. Rather, Luke and the Jewish leadership struggle with each other for the favor of Rome. Neither of them is totally against the Empire, and both Luke and the Jewish leaders reside somewhere in-between the two spaces, between the religion/politics of Empire and that of Jesus' God. Luke's position would be in another third space, in the tensions between spaces as the people are, rather than exactly in the space of Jesus. This is the complex context of imperialism.

Luke's binary division recalls Jesus' statement in 11:23: "Whoever is not with me is against me and whoever does not gather with me scatters." Yet, the end-time discourse also opens a margin for those whom in the preceding chapter of book (21:21) I called "the group in the middle," those who are saved from the destruction of Jerusalem regardless of their faith in Jesus.⁷⁰ The passage recalls another statement of Jesus in 9:50: "Do not forbid him, for whoever is not against you is for you." Though a margin of discourse exists, Luke's warning remains based on the binary opposition. There is no third space for the people in Luke's "territory dispute."

⁷⁰ In his description of the city's destruction (21:21), Luke spares the third place in-between. First, there are the people and the disciples who listen to Jesus, and then, the Jewish authorities and "this people" against whom the judgment is coming. The third or middle group includes those who dwell in Judea, in the country, and those who dwell inside Jerusalem (v 21). While they are outsiders, for whom Jesus uses indirect exhortations in the third person plural (v 21), they are saved from God's vengeance anyway. See my discussion in pages 135–137.

Collaboration: who delivered Jesus up to whom? (22:22)

The act of “treason,” corresponds better with Judas Iscariot than with the people as a passive (group-)actor. Between the two spaces, Judas actively provides the motive for the shifting balance of power. With Jesus delivered up (22:48), i.e., with his arrest (22:47–53), the time of darkness begins. Though this treason is not only instigated by Satan but also destined by God, Jesus calls Judas to account: “the Son of Man is going as it has been determined, but woe to that man by whom he is delivered up” (22:22; cf. Acts 1:16–20). And, although Judas is the one who hands Jesus over, the one among those whose hands are with Jesus on the table (22:21), the same verb, “to deliver up” (παράδιδόναι), is used also to portray what other characters do to destroy Jesus. In Luke, especially in the last five chapters of the gospel, Jesus’ crucifixion is done by collaboration among those who deliver Jesus up to one another. While Judas Iscariot is the one who delivers Jesus up to the Jerusalem leadership (22:4, 6, 21, 22, 48), it is the leaders who hand him over to Pilate (20:20; 24:20). The Roman Pilate again delivers Jesus to the Jerusalem authorities (23:25). The people, though they are passive in their “treason,” are not exempted from the responsibility that they have delivered Jesus up to Pilate (Acts 3:13). Those to whom Jesus is delivered up are described as “men” (9:44; cf. 20:4), “the Gentiles” (18:32; cf. 21:24), and the “sinful men” (24:7).

Reading the passages altogether, Judas Iscariot, the people, the Jerusalem leadership, and Roman Pilate deliver Jesus up to the Jerusalem leadership and Pilate. Luke’s description of the giving and receiving in delivering Jesus toward his death further undergirds the analysis of the two spaces and the space in between. The people and Judas, positioned between the two spaces, are not among those to whom Jesus is handed over. Jesus is “delivered up” only to the Jerusalem leadership and Roman Pilate, the two representatives of the space where the imperial system is stationed. Jesus proclaims woe to Judas Iscariot (22:22), who only hands Jesus over and does not do anything more. What of those who represent the imperial religion/politics, who collaborate in destroying Jesus, not only by delivering him up but also by receiving him, by being those to whom he is delivered up?⁷¹ As Walton points out, “Certainly Luke regards

⁷¹ The end-time discourse implies that there will be an eschatological judgment.

the purpose of God as being achieved through the death of Jesus (not least in Acts 4:28), but this does not exonerate either the Jewish or Roman authorities.”⁷²

In the city of Jerusalem (Luke 22:54–23:56)

Thus far in the textual analysis, I have shown that making a binary division between the Jerusalem leadership and the Roman Empire ignores the complexities of imperialism. Although Luke describes the plot against Jesus initiated by the Jerusalem authorities, he does not separate the Jewish leaders’ role in imperial power, what David Tiede calls “the great imperial forces from within,”⁷³ from the Empire. Altogether, they represent the religious/political system of Empire, which is set against the religion/politics of Jesus’ God. The passion narrative (Luke 22:54–23:56), especially Luke’s description of the Jewish and Roman powers, is best understood as part of such a narrative strategy, a situation in which the two kinds of religious/political systems, each with its own space-time, are in tension. In this section, I show how Luke describes the Jerusalem leadership as acting for and with the security concerns of the Empire. I also suggest that in his description of Jesus’ trials before Pilate Luke’s main concern is not to defend Rome or the Roman governor.

The Jerusalem leadership, which has plotted against Jesus since he entered the temple and taught the people, manages to arrest Jesus and bring him into the city of Jerusalem, into the leadership’s own space. The leaders’ predominance is apparent not only in the arrest and examination of Jesus but also in the acquirement of Jesus’ crucifixion from Pilate. Before going to the court of Pilate, Luke begins the Sanhedrin’s examination of Jesus with the coming of the “day” (22:66). The dawning of the day is ironic, because it will be covered by darkness during its brightest time (23:44). It is a day of darkness that unfolds in the city of Jerusalem, the space-time of imperial religion/politics.

The wrath of God is to come upon the Jewish and Roman powers (vv 20–26) to whom Jesus’ followers are delivered up (21:12, 16).

⁷² Walton, “The State,” 20.

⁷³ David L. Tiede, *Prophecy and History in Luke-Acts* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 108.

At the Sanhedrin: finding evidence (22:66–71)

Jesus' conversation with the Jerusalem leaders, which has already happened once in the temple (20:1–44), resumes in a changed form, within a changed power relation at the Sanhedrin. While Jesus overpowered his debaters in the temple, now he is examined by them in the city of Jerusalem. While they were unable to find any reason to accuse Jesus through the debates (20:26, 40), the leaders finally are able to make three charges against him after their examination (23:2). Accurately speaking, they could not understand what Jesus said in the temple until he repeats it at the Sanhedrin. They were not only powerless, so that they could not seize Jesus without Satan's intervention, but they also lacked understanding in Jesus' space. Although in the temple Jesus asked them whether the baptism of John was "from heaven or from men" (20:4), the leaders did not acknowledge that Jesus himself gained authority from heaven (20:2, 7–8). Although they heard the parable of the tenants (20:9–19), they were not aware that the very Jesus telling the story was the Son of God: therefore, at the Sanhedrin, they ask Jesus whether he is the Son of God (22:70). Although in the temple Jesus talked about Christ (20:41–44), the leaders did not sense a relationship between him and the Messiah (22:67). Belonging to the authority "from men," they betrayed their ignorance of the authority "from heaven" by questioning whether it was lawful for them to give imperial tribute (20:20–26).⁷⁴

Belonging to the power of darkness, the Jerusalem leaders are unable to comprehend the truth of God. Their "blind eyes" open only with Jesus' allusive answer (22:69). At the Sanhedrin, when they as a whole ask Jesus whether he is *Christ* (22:67), Jesus responds that the Son of Man will be *seated at the right hand of the power of God* (22:69). The statement of Jesus might remind the questioners of his riddle on *Christ* and David (20:41–44): "The Lord said to my Lord: 'Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies your footstool'" (20:42b–43). Because Jesus' riddle (20:41) and the leaders' question (22:67) mention the same Christ, the same image "seated at the right

⁷⁴ They also demonstrated their unworthiness of the coming age and resurrection (20:27–40).

hand of God”⁷⁵ in Jesus’ two statements (20:43; 22:69) might help the leaders connect the two events with each other.⁷⁶

The Jerusalem leadership now begins to figure out all of what Jesus said about himself in the temple. “All of them” ask Jesus again: “Are you the Son of God, then?” (22:70). They originally asked about Christ (22:67), and Jesus returned with a saying about the Son of Man (22:69). How did they arrive at the conclusion that Jesus is the Son of God? The connection between Christ and the Son of Man can be found in the debates in the temple. The leaders now remind themselves of the parable of the tenants (20:9–19), realizing that Jesus figured himself as the Son of God, that is, as the son of the master in the parable (20:13)! In addition, Jesus’ reply to their first question at the Sanhedrin (“and if I ask you, you will not answer, 22:68) recalls what occurred in the temple: Jesus asked them about the source of the authority (20:3–4), but they did not answer (20:5–8). Now, having perceived what Jesus meant through the debate, they have enough evidence against him. They talk to one another, “What further testimony do we need? We have heard it ourselves from his own lips” (v 71).

As Green observes, the evidence could have been interpreted in two ways, either “to embrace Jesus as God’s emissary or to repudiate his claim.” The response of the leadership authenticates Jesus’ prediction regarding their eventual unbelief: “If I tell you, you will not believe” (22:67).⁷⁷ The Jerusalem leadership understands nothing beyond that Jesus has alluded to himself as the Christ and as the Son of God. They perceive neither that they are killing the Son of God (20:15; cf. Acts 3:17)⁷⁸ nor that the coming of the Son of Man will be their destruction (20:16; cf. 19:42–44). Although they recognize Jesus’ self-assertion as the Christ, they do not recognize themselves in Jesus’ warning that God will make them his footstool

⁷⁵ The image is not only shared by the two statements of Jesus, but it also likely is drawn from the same source (Ps 110:1 [LXX 109:1]).

⁷⁶ Fitzmyer, *Gospel*, 1462–1463, also observes the connection between the leaders’ question about Christ and Jesus’ use of the image (Ps 110:1). He says that Jesus does not make a direct, affirmative answer, but indirectly asserts his victory over his adversaries.

⁷⁷ Green, *Gospel*, 796.

⁷⁸ In Acts 3:17, Peter says to the people that they killed Jesus in *ignorance*, as did also their rulers.

(20:44).⁷⁹ They attend only to that which interests them.⁸⁰ Therefore, with an “ironic affirmation” (“You say that I am,” v 70), Jesus emphasizes that they are the ones actually making the claim, though they do not believe it.⁸¹

Many scholarly interpretations of this passage (22:66–71) focus on how the Jerusalem leadership distorts the meaning of the titles, “Christ” (v 67) and “the Son of God” (70). These studies frequently argue that the titles are originally religious, but that the leaders twist them into political titles that they might be utilized for the charges against Jesus before Pilate (23:2, 5).⁸² Among these scholars, Walaskay argues that Luke distinguishes “Christ,” the political title, from “Son of God,” the religious title. While Jesus gives a “most obscure” answer to the question about messiahship (vv 67–68), Walaskay argues, his position about divine sonship is “most pointed” (v 70). He continues, “Luke has made clear to his readers that the Sanhedrin knew the *politico-religious* distinction, nevertheless, the council chose, in its accusation to Pilate, to place the emphasis solely on the *political* side,”⁸³ that is, on the title, “Christ.” On the other hand, Nolland argues that, while the Jewish rendition of the charge with its use of “Christ” (23:2) “still echoes the religious overtones,” Pilate’s rendition, “king of the Jews,” is “purely secular.”⁸⁴ Despite their different understandings of the title, “Christ,” Walaskay and Nolland reach the same conclusion: Jesus is religious, but he is accused as political.

⁷⁹ Contrary to Green (*Gospel*, 790), there is no textual evidence that the Jewish leaders think that they are acting for the sake of God by removing the one who opposes God’s purpose. Instead, they are acting from their concern with the authority “from men.”

⁸⁰ The accusations against Jesus reflect the main concern of the Jerusalem leadership, remaining within concern for the security of the Empire (23:2).

⁸¹ Green, *Gospel*, 794, 796.

⁸² Fitzmyer, *Gospel*, 1473; Frank J. Matera, *Passion Narratives and Gospel Theologies: Interpreting the Synoptics through their Passion Stories* (New York: Paulist Press, 1986), 176–177. Alexandru Neagoe, *The Trial of the Gospel: An Apologetic Reading of Luke’s Trial Narratives* (Cambridge: University Press, 2002), 70–76. See also Johnson, *Gospel*, 359–360. Johnson observes that Luke is extremely careful in his use of the title, “Messiah,” and argues that it is “precisely” because of “the political ambiguity that the leaders will now exploit.”

⁸³ Walaskay, *And So We Came to Rome*, 39. See also his “The Trial and Death of Jesus in the Gospel of Luke,” *JBL* 94 (1975): 82. Walaskay seems to follow Fitzmyer (*Gospel*, 1467) who argues, “Luke obviously intends the question [v 67] to carry a deeper christological nuance as well. [However,] the political aspect will emerge in 23:1–5.”

⁸⁴ Nolland, *Luke*, 1118.

However, as Green contends, such a distinction between religion and politics is “the consequence of a gross anachronism.”⁸⁵ Green shows that, since Jesus’ entry into Jerusalem as king (19:45–21:38), Luke has portrayed him “as a regal figure whose exercise of authority has been aimed at displacing the authority of the temple establishment, and who has won the support of the people.”⁸⁶ I have shown that the Sanhedrin’s examination of Jesus subsumes the themes of the debates in the temple, and that both in the temple and at the Sanhedrin, the titles are involved in the power relations between the two political/religious systems. The two titles, “Christ” and “the Son of God,” both of which are both religious and political, should be treated together against the context of power relations described in 19:45–21:38 rather than studied separately against the extra-textual background of the terms. While it is clear that there are some distortions by the accusers, such slippages are not switching from the religious to the political area but are a misuse of the titles from within their power concerns.

In describing the Jerusalem leadership’s use of the titles in accusing Jesus, “rejection” is actually a better term than “distortion.” In the temple, even though Jesus reminds them that God is the real master of them as tenants and that the authority over the temple is “from heaven” (20:1–19), they refuse to acknowledge that role for God. Their refusal of the authority “from God,” which I name “the religion/politics of Jesus’ God,” is apparent in their hidden intention to deliver Jesus to the jurisdiction and authority of the Roman governor (20:20). Their plot fails, because it is attempted in the space-time of Jesus. At the Sanhedrin, Jesus again is revealed as the Son of God (22:70), and although the leaders themselves say he is so (22:70), they refuse to acknowledge him as the Son of God (22:67), instead, bringing him to Pilate to be accused as an insurgent against Rome (23:1). While Jesus is concerned with faithfulness to God, the concern of the Jerusalem leadership is their loyalty to Rome. While with their charges against him, they accuse Jesus as a rebel, they themselves rebel against God, just as the tenants in the parable (20:10–15).⁸⁷ Again, they choose the religion/politics of the Empire, this time by appealing to the direct jurisdiction and authority of

⁸⁵ Green, *Gospel*, 798.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 792–793.

⁸⁷ Tiede, *Luke*, 342.

Pilate. This time their plan works, because it is the city of Jerusalem, in the space-time of the power of darkness.

The charges against Jesus (23:1–5)

Once they come before Pilate, the Jerusalem leaders level three charges against Jesus. They claim that (1) he perverts their nation; (2) he forbids the giving of tribute to Caesar; and (3) he proclaims himself as Christ a king (23:2). The rhetoric they use for their first charge resembles what is often found in the rhetoric of rulers or those who have power. The leaders attempt to bolster their legitimacy as the rulers of the vassal state by blaming their opponent for “leading the Jewish nation away from its proper loyalty to Caesar.”⁸⁸ Although the leaders present themselves as the representatives of the nation (τὸ ἔθνος), the audience is aware that they seek status honor and wealth, and even victimize their people, the poor widows in particular (20:46–47), rather than working for the nation. The leaders’ primary concern is their own power over the temple and over the people (20:2), a power acknowledged by the Empire (20:20). The charge that Jesus perverts “their” nation may be the most closely related to the influence of Jesus’ predominance over the leaders and the people’s support of him. In fact, Jesus does disturb something significant, but it is the leaders’ command over the people that is threatened, not the nation as a whole.

The second charge of the leaders, the forbidding of tribute to Caesar, shows how the leaders utilize the power of the Empire. Although they have been unable to find fault with Jesus concerning the imperial tribute (20:26), they offer false witness that Jesus forbids to give the tribute to Caesar. Their argument has a partial truth, because Jesus rebukes them for their not giving the due loyalty to God (20:25). However, what mattered in Jesus’ exhortation was their relationship to God, their genuine master, not the specific practice of imperial tribute. Moreover, the debate in the temple was focused on their own act: they asked if it is lawful for *them* (“for us,” ἡμᾶς, in the Greek text) to give imperial tribute (20:22), while before Pilate they attempt to represent Jesus’ statement as a general policy, omitting “for us” from their charge.

⁸⁸ Nolland, *Luke*, 1117.

For their third claim that Jesus has proclaimed himself a king, the leaders add an interpretation to the term, "Christ." With an added interpretative leap, they make it clear that Christ means "a king."⁸⁹ This claim places Jesus directly against the Roman Emperor and accuses Jesus as the leader of a rebellion against Rome.⁹⁰ The claim suggests that, from the first, their focus at the examination (22:66–71) has been whether or not Jesus claimed to be the Messiah.⁹¹ Altogether, the three charges support one another, presenting Jesus as the leader of resistance against Rome. The accusations work together: Jesus perverts the nation, denies the sovereignty of the Empire and presents himself as the king of the nation.

The next accusation (23:5) reiterates their case⁹² and clearly shows how the Jerusalem leadership's argument is based upon a security concern for the Empire: "He *stirs up the people*, teaching throughout all Judea, (beginning) from Galilee even to this place" (23:5). Although the Jerusalem leadership takes the initiative in the crucifixion of Jesus,⁹³ they are furthering the concern of the Empire. Their initiative does not exculpate Pilate, but only shows that the Jewish leaders are acting as *prosecutors* of the Roman judicial court.⁹⁴ However, even their concern for the security of the Roman Empire is no more than a pretext for their hidden purpose, which is more self-serving. They attempt to utilize the power of the Empire to remove Jesus in order to reclaim their authority over the temple, an authority granted by the Empire. It is not only the Empire that does not have genuine concern for its vassals (21:20–24)⁹⁵ but neither do the nobilities of the vassal state, whose own loyalty to the Empire even arises from self-concern. The Jerusalem leadership's self-serving ends do not mean

⁸⁹ Johnson, *Gospel*, 364.

⁹⁰ Helmut Flender, *St Luke: Theologian of Redemptive History* (trans. Reginald H. and Ilse Fuller; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967), 62; Neagoe, *Trial*, 72.

⁹¹ Richard J. Cassidy, *Jesus, Politics, and Society: A Study of Luke's Gospel* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1978), 64.

⁹² Cassidy, "Audience," 149; Neagoe, *Trial*, 70.

⁹³ Luke narrates Jesus' trial in four scenes: the hearing before the Sanhedrin (22:66–71), the hearing before Pilate (23:1–25), the bearing before Herod (23:66–71), and the sentencing of Jesus (23:13–25). Beyond Jesus, the passive participant in his own trial, the single constant participant in all four scenes is the Jerusalem leadership. See Green, *Gospel*, 791.

⁹⁴ Cassidy, *Jesus*, 69.

⁹⁵ For further discussion of the nature of imperialism described in Luke 21:20–24, see page 132 in the previous chapter.

that they do not support the Empire. In fact, what sustains the Empire is not authentic loyalty but the use of its ideology and authority by both colonizer and colonized vassals in service to their own ends.

Luke's vindication of Jesus

Throughout his description of the trials, Luke is mainly concerned with portraying how unjust was the decision for Jesus' crucifixion.⁹⁶ While the stubbornness and insurgency of the Jerusalem leadership and the irresoluteness of Pilate are contrasted, both serve this concern of Luke. He is not primarily concerned with exculpating Pilate from the crucifixion of Jesus by inculcating the Jerusalem leadership. Instead, with the contrast between the Jewish and Roman authorities, Luke highlights how erroneous are the processes of decision and Pilate's final verdict of crucifixion. Luke's portrayal of split between Pilate and the Jerusalem leadership would be understood in the narrative strategy: rather than as exculpation and inculpation, but as the division in the same camp of the Empire. The presence of divisions, in both spaces of Jesus and of the Empire, is the part of the "politics" of the Satan-ruled period of darkness: Judas against Jesus and, for a time, Pilate against the Jerusalem leaders.⁹⁷

While the Jewish leaders in the narrative accuse Jesus as one who stirs up the people, the Lukan narrator describes them as making an uproar (23:18–24). While Pilate declares Jesus guiltless three times, the leaders cannot add any persuasive details to their charges. Instead, they insist (v 5) vehemently (v 10). They not only urge Pilate to crucify Jesus but also add to the request, asking release for Barabbas (18). While they claim that Jesus hinders the imperial tributary system, the Jerusalem leadership disturbs the judicial system of the Empire, compelling the Roman governor to release a criminal who is in prison for an insurrection (στάσις) and a murder that took place

⁹⁶ Luke does not draw any direct soteriological significance from Jesus' suffering or death. There is no trace of the idea of atonement in Luke's description of crucifixion. See Conzelmann, *Theology*, 200–201; Henry J. Cadbury, *The Making of Luke-Acts* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927), 280; C.H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Development* (New York: Harper & Row, 1936), 25.

⁹⁷ Concerning the division resulted by the Satanic intervention, see page 174. For further discussion on the unfaithfulness of those who sustain the Empire, both colonizers and their colonized vassals, who betray one another, see pages 132 and 181.

in the very city (vv 19, 25). The attempt to persuade the Roman governor having failed, they turn into a mob. The leaders together with the people cry out (vv 18, 21) urgently (v 23), with loud shouts, (v 23) until their voices finally prevail (v 23).

This negative description of the Jerusalem leadership is not intended to highlight the justice of Pilate. Although his role in the trial of Jesus is not as assertively negative as that of the Jewish authorities, Luke's description of Pilate is hardly positive from the perspective of Jesus' followers. Luke might have portrayed the Roman governor more favorably, without mention of his sacrilegious massacre of the Galileans (13:1). Pilate might have been portrayed as more resolute against the injustice of the Jewish authorities. However, he attempts to have Jesus flogged without just reason, perhaps to reinstate the favor of the accusers (23:16). Neither is Pilate described as a just or competent official from the perspective of Rome. As Tannehil points out, "a ruler who gives into mob pressure and releases a rebel and murderer to them is hardly a model of justice" (vv 18–25).⁹⁸ Rather than examining the accused more carefully before deciding that Jesus is not guilty (22:4, contrary to 23:14), Pilate asks the people directly (23:13), and they turn into a mob instigated by their leaders (23:18–23). Nor is Pilate active in recognizing Jesus' identity. Pilate might, at the least, have been like the centurion, who glorifies God and declares about Jesus in a positive and active way, "Certainly this man was innocent" (δικαίος) (23:47). Pilate says just in a negative and rather passive way that he does not find any "crime" or "cause" (αἵτιος) deserving death (vv 4, 14, 22). Luke succeeds in demonstrating at the court of Pilate: "Jesus did not commit any crime deserving the crucifixion!" Luke does not go beyond this in order to defend Pilate or the Roman Empire.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Robert C. Tannehil, *The Narrative Unity of Luke-Acts: A Literary Interpretation, Volume 1: The Gospel according to Luke* (Philadelphia, Fortress, 1986), 198.

⁹⁹ Luke's description of Pilate does not necessarily represent his view of Rome. For example, Pilate's assertion of Jesus' innocence does not demonstrate that the former is a just judge. Although the unjust judge in a parable (18:1–8) vindicates a widow, Jesus still calls him the "unjust judge" (v 6). Likewise, Luke's negative description of Pilate hardly represents his view of Rome as a whole. Josephus, who is renowned with his pro-Roman stance, describes the Roman governors negatively in order to explain why a "small number of the Jews" rose in revolt against the governors not against Rome (For example, see his description of Pilate in *Jewish War*, 2.169–177). Therefore, one needs to find how Luke *uses* the Roman official in his narrative in addition to how he describes him positively or negatively.

Luke describes the hearing before Pilate according to traditional Roman trial proceedings. Jerome Neyrey observes the following judicial procedure: charges are made (23:2), the magistrate conducts his *cognitio* (investigation, 23:3), and pronounces a verdict (23:4).¹⁰⁰ Neyrey also describes a similar but slightly longer process in the second part of the trial passage (23:5–16): arrest (23:14a), charges (v 14b), *cognitio* (v 14c), verdict (v 14d), supporting verdict (v 15a), acquittal (v 15b), and judicial warning (v 15c).¹⁰¹

Pilate then called together the chief priests and the rulers and the people, and said to them, “You brought me this man as one who was misleading the people; and, behold, after I have examined him before you, I did not find from this man any crime you charge against him. Neither did Herod, for he sent him back to us. Behold, nothing deserving death has been done by him.” (Luke 23:13–15)

With this description of the first and second part of Jesus’ trial at the Roman governor’s court, Luke is able to display how Pilate correctly declares Jesus “not guilty.” However, despite the “correct” judicial procedure, the trial would not be considered “full” enough from the perspective of Rome.¹⁰² Luke does not explain on what ground Pilate finds Jesus not guilty (v 4) though he has identified himself as the king of the Jews (v 3),¹⁰³ which could threaten the Empire. A.N. Sherwin-White says that Pilate had no option but to convict, because there was no defense.¹⁰⁴ However, this is not enough to explain the Roman governor’s treatment of the lawsuit concerning riots or *vis publica*.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, Pilate allows a group of people to disturb the court and he succumbs to them (vv 18–25).¹⁰⁶ Paul Walaskay points out the insufficiency in the procedure as follows:

¹⁰⁰ Jerome Neyrey, *The Passion According to Luke: A Redaction Study of Luke’s Soteriology* (New York: Paulist, 1985), 77. Green, *Gospel*, 798, describes it in a slightly different way, as accusations made, charges formulated, opportunity for defense given, and judgment rendered. He introduces this procedure to show the verisimilitude of Luke’s account. See also A.N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), 24–26; and S.G.F. Brandon, *The Trial of Jesus of Nazareth* (New York: Stein and Day, 1968), 119–120.

¹⁰¹ Neyrey, *Passion*, 81.

¹⁰² Neyrey argues that Luke emphasizes the “correct and full judicial procedure.” See *ibid.*, 76–81.

¹⁰³ Tannehil, *Narrative Unity*, 195–196.

¹⁰⁴ Sherwin-White, *Roman Society*, 25.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁰⁶ In addition, the audience knows that a normal examination was not performed by Herod, who has an excessive interest in the miracles worked by Jesus (v 8).

It would have been difficult for a Roman citizen familiar with Roman judicial practice—not to mention the twentieth-century historians—to understand Pilate's quick judgment. With such a case of treason, Pilate should have proceeded further with this case *extra ordinem*. A Roman court would not have been content with any other than its own investigation. . . . Why was Pilate so superficial in his investigation of the serious charges against a suspected rebel? Jesus was not even "examined by torture." If Jesus really was innocent, why did Pilate not insure his protection? Why would Pilate, charged with thoroughly and fairly administering Roman justice, allow this trial to be turned into a lynching?¹⁰⁷

Walaskay's analysis provides a good refutation of the political apology hypothesis, which suggests that Luke's writings addressed the Roman Empire on behalf of the church, because "reading this account, a Roman magistrate would have concluded that Roman justice, as carried out by the Judean prefect, had failed." Instead, Walaskay argues that Luke's trial scene was "given to the church to help it better appreciate the person of the prefect and the 'fairness'—of the imperial judicial system."¹⁰⁸ How could a story of the Roman governor failing to keep the Roman justice through the imperial judicial procedure be an apology for the fairness of that system? The judicial system cannot protect the innocent, and it is easily corrupted as seen in the cases of Jesus and Paul in Acts. Luke's emphasis is neither on the faithfulness of the Roman official, who carries out the trial in a correct judicial procedure, nor on the fairness of the imperial judicial system. Rather, Luke contrasts the first part of the trial, in which Pilate concludes that Jesus is not guilty (23:2–4; 13–15), with the last part, in which he gives sentence indecisively that the leaders' demand should be granted (23:18–25). Thus, Luke attempts

Nevertheless, Pilate assumes that Herod did not find that Jesus had committed any crime, "for he sent him back to us" (v 15).

¹⁰⁷ Walaskay, *And So We Came to Rome*, 40. See also his "Trial," 85, 93. While Luke does not mention that maintenance of order and the prosecution of troublemakers are part of the legitimate role of a Roman governor, he implies that Pilate does not fulfill his duty. See also Steve Mason, *Josephus and the New Testament* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1992), 110.

¹⁰⁸ Walaskay, *And So We Came to Rome*, 41; Idem, "Trial," 85. Whoever the intended audience of Luke is, whether it is the Empire, the church, or both, Luke would not be free of the necessity to exonerate Jesus and to demonstrate that he was not a threat to the Roman order. Through the narrative of Jesus' trials, Luke is actually talking to the whole imperial world through his audience, "even if no Roman officials ever bothered to burrow through such strange sectarian literature." See also Tiede, *Prophecy*, 108.

to show how Pilate's judicial decision was distorted to sentence Jesus to death.

Not only Pilate's indecisiveness but also his cruelty, and that of Herod, highlight Jesus' innocence. Both rulers are mentioned in particular and arbitrarily murderous contexts.¹⁰⁹ Herod, the tetrarch of Galilee beheaded John the Baptist (9:9). Jesus calls him "this fox" (13:32), possibly because of such cruelty.¹¹⁰ Pilate murdered some Galileans and mingled their blood with their sacrifices (13:1). Luke's description that the two had been enemies with each other (23:12b) implies that Pilate did not acknowledge the jurisdiction of Herod when he killed the Galileans. The citations of their being friends (23:12a), then, suggests that Pilate has come to recognize Herod's jurisdiction (23:7). Altogether, Luke seeks to underscore how even these two cruel rulers, trying Jesus in cooperation, cannot find any crime from Jesus.

Pilate's treatment of the two separate issues, the sacrifice of Galileans (13:1) and the crucifixion of Jesus (23:1–25), is inconsistent.¹¹¹ He acted resolutely and with cruelty to the Galileans (and to probably Herod the tetrarch of Galilee), but now is irresolute to the Jerusalem leaders and to the same Herod. Luke's description that they were once enemies but became friends (23:12) also emphasizes the inconsistency. If Pilate in Luke is such an erratic character, is his judgment of Jesus' innocence reliable? This question bears increased significance, because Pilate asks Jesus just one question and receives only a half-affirmative answer before he decides that Jesus is not guilty.

¹⁰⁹ Johnson, *Gospel*, 368.

¹¹⁰ John Darr argues that one should "try to square the metaphor with what is known of the character from the work as actualized to this point" of narrative. Among possible metaphoric attributes of "fox," he chooses the trait of "destructiveness," "an attribute no doubt based on the actual experience of farmers who often lost crops and livestock to these varmints." He connects the destructiveness with the report that Herod beheaded John the Baptist (9:9) and the implicit analogy between Herod and Jerusalem as prophet killers (13:34a). This is supported by the simile Jesus uses to compare himself with a hen defending her chicks (the residents of Jerusalem) against attack by predator, a fox (13:34b). See his *Herod the Fox: Audience Criticism and Lukan Characterization* (Sheffield: Academic Press, 1998), 179–183.

¹¹¹ He is a dynamic rather than a static character. See Mark Allan Powell, *What is Narrative Criticism?* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990), 55.

Ironie compromise, ambivalent resistance, and triangular relations

Pilate asks Jesus whether he is the “king of the Jews” (v 3), and Jesus is at last executed with such title (23:38). Jesus answers Pilate, “You are saying it” (v 4). This answer does not deny that he is the king of the Jews, though the answer is also not a straightforward acknowledgment.¹¹² What does this title mean? And on what ground does Pilate judge that the one who alludes to himself thus is not guilty (23:4)? These issues concerning the title, the “king of the Jews,” further complicate the question about Pilate’s judgment.

In Luke’s narrative context, the title consolidates Pilate’s own summary of the charges leveled against Jesus.¹¹³ The term, “king” (βασιλεὺς), draws on the third charge, that Jesus claims he himself is Christ, translated by the leaders into “a king.” The term, “king,” in the title rendered by Pilate (“king of the Jews”) corresponds with “Christ” in the charge by the leaders (23:2). The modifier, “of the Jews” (τῶν Ἰουδαίων), can be deduced from the first charge, that Jesus perverts “their nation.” Elsewhere in his writings (Luke 7:5; Acts 10:22; 24:2, 10, 17; 26:4; 28:19), Luke considers the Jews as a “nation” (τὸ ἔθνος).¹¹⁴ Luke composes the title, “king of the Jews,” in other terms, “Christ” of “our nation,” from the information he has gotten from the accusers (23:2), especially from the first and the third charge. The rest of the information—that Jesus “perverts” their nation (the remainder of the first charge) and that he forbids them to give imperial tribute (the second charge), along with the leaders’ reiteration of the charges (v 5)—is implicated as Pilate recapitulates the charges: “You brought me this man as one who was misleading the people” (v 14b). The way Pilate renders the leaders’ charges can be summarized as the following table:¹¹⁵

¹¹² Johnson, *Gospel*, 365.

¹¹³ Pilate’s question is virtually identical in all four Gospels (Mark 15:2; Matt 27:11; John 18:33): “Are you the king of the Jews?” (σὺ εἶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων;). Redactionally speaking, Luke inserts the three charges (23:2) before the question so that he makes Pilate consequently induce the title, “king of the Jews.”

¹¹⁴ For example, in a passage (7:1–10) where Jesus heals the servant of a centurion from distance, “our nation” indicates the Jews in comparison with the other nation of the centurion, probably a Gentile.

¹¹⁵ Among the arrows, the perforated boxes and lines indicate implication, while the normal boxes and lines mean direct use. For the connected verbs, “to pervert” (διαστρέφειν) and “to mislead” (ἀποστρέφειν), I mixed a normal box and a perforated line, because the two verbs are different but synonymous.

The Jerusalem leaders' charges (vv 2, 5)	Pilate's rendering (vv 3, 14)
1. He perverts our nation	"the king" of the Jews " (v 3)
2. He forbids us to give imperial tribute	
3. He says that he himself is Christ a king	"this man as one who was
4. He stirs up the people . . . (v 5)	misleading the people " (v 14)

Further details can be added to the table. Against the second half of the statement in v 5, "teaching throughout all Judea, from Galilee even to this place," Pilate emphasizes that Herod the tetrarch of Galilee participated in the interrogation (v 15). Also, because the leaders argue that "he says that he himself is" Christ a king (v 2), Pilate *asks* Jesus *to say* whether he is the king of the Jews (v 3).

If my analysis is correct, Pilate maintains that he has examined Jesus with respect to all the charges that have been leveled—though the reader knows it is not exhaustive—and not found any crime. Pilate's declaration of Jesus' "not guilty" is a result of his judgment that Jesus neither perverts the people nor forbids the imperial tribute. However, Jesus' self-declaration as the "king of the Jews" remains in question. Does Pilate interpret Jesus' answer ("You are saying it," v 3) as a negation?¹¹⁶ If he understands the answer as an affirmation, does the Roman governor judge that the "king of the Jews" is not of a kind dangerous to the Empire? Plummer and Fitzmyer argue that Pilate understands Jesus as a "harmless enthusiast." Nolland adds that Pilate's skepticism about the charges is not based on Jesus' answer (v 3) but "a piece with Luke's stress elsewhere on the politically innocuous nature of the Christian faith." In this argument, Nolland assumes that Pilate has all of the information that the implied reader of Luke has.¹¹⁷ However, Pilate in Luke is even unaware that Jesus is a Galilean (v 6). He neither has large amounts of information about Jesus nor seeks to know more about him. Pilate is not

¹¹⁶ Jesus answers in a similar way to the leaders at the Sanhedrin (22:79) and to Pilate (23:3). Because the first answer can be an affirmation that he is the Son of God, the second answer can be affirmative, too. How Jesus answers is one thing, and how Pilate understands it is another.

¹¹⁷ Such reading easily allows the implied reader to identify himself or herself with Pilate or with the Empire. This may work with the political apology hypothesis, that Luke writes to Roman officials. However, even in that case, Pilate does not share all the knowledge of the reader.

responsible in his role as a judge. Textual evidence does not support an argument that Luke recounts this trial scene to demonstrate that Jesus constituted no threat to Rome.¹¹⁸ Pilate fails to *demonstrate* Jesus' guiltlessness; he just *assumes* it without enough examination.

What aim, then, does this scene serve for Luke? Green maintains:

If in this scene Pilate finds no basis for an accusation against Jesus, this is not because Jesus and his message constitute no threat to Rome; rather, one can conclude from this only that *Pilate has thus far been unable to discern any such threat*. To this degree, the Sanhedrin proves to be more discerning than Rome; both deny Jesus' royal claim, but Rome alone regards him therefore as harmless. . . . Hence, *the purpose of this scene cannot be primarily to have Rome establish Jesus' innocence*. Rather, it is, first, to indicate the religious-political nature of the charges brought against Jesus, and especially to establish the pattern for the ensuing stages of the trial.¹¹⁹

While Green's is an apt interpretation of Pilate as "unable to discern any threat" from Jesus,¹²⁰ Green too quickly concludes that the primary purpose of this scene is not to have Rome establish Jesus' innocence. His suggestion that Luke attempts "to establish the pattern for the ensuing stages of the trial" hardly explains why the third gospel writer so strikingly contrasts the Jerusalem leadership and Pilate. Green needs not to discard the first insight (Jesus' innocence) in order to proceed to the second (pattern for the ensuing trials).

In light of this complexity, Jesus' response to Pilate's question needs to be further explored. Whichever way Pilate understands Jesus' response (23:3), why does Jesus not answer the question clearly? Why respond in such an ambiguous way: "You are saying it"? Green calls both answers of Jesus, the previous one to the Jerusalem leadership (22:70) and the present one to Pilate (22:3), "ironic affirmation," because even though the question assesses Jesus' identity correctly,

¹¹⁸ Green points out that this scholarly presumption is based on the binary division between religion and politics. See his *Gospel*, 798–799.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* Italic is mine.

¹²⁰ In a similar vein, Cassidy (*Jesus*, 72–76) understands Jesus' answer to Pilate against his general analysis of Jesus' political attitude in the gospel: "In Luke's gospel Jesus shows virtually no deference to any of the political authorities to whom he theoretically owes allegiance." Therefore, he concludes there is neither cooperation nor deference. Nevertheless the Roman governor "found Jesus innocent of the chief priests' charges," Cassidy argues, because Pilate discerned that "Jesus was not a Zealot or comparable to the Zealots." See further discussion on Cassidy's position in chapter two, pages 81–87.

those who ask it deny Jesus' royal claim.¹²¹ Despite their denial, with an ironic affirmation ("You are saying [that I am]"), "Jesus turns their accusation about him into an unwitting confession."¹²² Pilate may understand this ironic affirmation as compliance and therefore judge Jesus as not guilty. However, this response is not only an ironic affirmation but also a refusal of the Roman governor's inspection of him. Because the leaders claim that Jesus declares himself as a king (23:2), Pilate wants to know whether Jesus really says so (v 3). However, Jesus refuses to cooperate and does not make it clear whether he himself says thus or not, but replies, "*You* are saying it" (v 3).

From speculation based on textual analysis, I agree with Cassidy and Green that Jesus' attitude to Rome is neither obedience nor zealous resistance. However, Luke does not present this position clearly. And, whether zealous or not, it is anyhow a resistance to Rome, which is "dangerous to the Roman Empire."¹²³ Therefore, Cassidy's argument that Pilate finds Jesus not guilty, because he discerns that Jesus is not Zealot, does not convince me. If Pilate is "unable to discern any threat" from Jesus' answer, though it is a threat, it is because Jesus in Luke presents his response in such a way as to make it hard to discern any threat. Luke does not attempt to portray Jesus as dangerous to Rome.¹²⁴ There is an "ironic compromise," which implies both disavowal and compliance to the imperial court. With the "ironic compromise," Jesus in Luke fools the Roman governor. Jesus disavows the Roman governor's interrogation, while at the same time, Luke acquires Pilate's exoneration, significant because Pilate is the very official who sentenced Jesus to death. It is Luke's ambivalent strategy to have Rome establish Jesus' innocence.

This "ironic compromise" carried forth with indeterminacy and doubleness is also a strategy of colonial resistance, resembling the

¹²¹ Green, *Gospel*, 796, 801.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 796.

¹²³ This is the very point Cassidy attempts to prove. "Although Jesus did not constitute the same type of threat to Roman rule as the Zealots and the Parthians, the threat that he posed was, ultimately, not less dangerous." Cassidy, *Jesus*, 79.

¹²⁴ Cassidy also observes, "In some instances Jesus expressed this concern in ways not particularly disruptive of the existing social patterns, and not particularly challenging to those who benefited from them; but more often than not he taught and acted in such a way as to explicitly or implicitly call for radical modifications in these patterns." Although he notes such an ambiguity in Luke's position, Cassidy does not explain it. See *ibid.*, 77.

strategy used in what Bhabha calls “mimicry.”¹²⁵ Through mimicry, he observes, “the look of surveillance returns as the displacing gaze of the disciplined, where the observer becomes the observed and ‘partial’ [which means both ‘incomplete’ and ‘virtual’] representation rearticulates the whole notion of identity and alienates it from essence.”¹²⁶ This ambivalent strategy of resistance, from the side of colonized, opens a way of responding to the ambivalent desires of the colonizer. Quoting Macaulay, Bhabha shows how the duplicity of the colonizer’s desire appears in the nineteenth-century British colonial policy, a duplicity which recalls Pilate in Luke: “Be the father and the oppressor of the people; be just and unjust, moderate and rapacious.”¹²⁷ Colonial mimicry as a literary resistance exposes this contradiction within the colonizer’s desire. In such a way, in his farewell address at the Passover meal (22:24–27), Jesus compares his disciples, who contend for status and honor, with the rulers of the Empire, disclosing a duplicity concealed in the ideology of patron-client system: benefaction and domination. Jesus reveals the contradiction between the title of “benefactor” and the reality of rulers who exercise authority over their subjects (v 25).¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Bhabha, “Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse,” in his *Location*, 86.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 89. In a similar vein, Linda Hutcheon highlights “the use of the trope of irony as a doubled or split discourse which has the potential to subvert from within.” As a double-talking, forked-tongued mode of address, irony, the inherent semantic and structural doubleness, becomes a popular rhetorical strategy. It works within existing discourses and simultaneously contesting them by rethinking and readdressing history. See her “Circling the Downspout of Empire,” in *Past the Last Post: Theorizing Post-colonialism and Post-modernism* (ed. Ian Adam and Helen Tiffin; Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1990), 170–171.

¹²⁷ Bhabha, “Sly Civility,” in *Location*, 95. Thus, the discourse of colonialism often speaks “in a tongue that is forked, not false” (85). The colonizer requires the colonized to adopt the outward forms and to internalize the values and norms of power in order to *facilitate* the colonial rule, but at the same time, the oppressor asks that the oppressed not be a full participant in order to *sustain* cultural rule: “Be almost the same not quite.” To such an ambivalent request, the oppressed resists in an ambivalent way, “both against the rules and within them.” Resistance is performed through “mimicry.” Constructed around ambivalence, the discourse of mimicry, in order to be effective, “must continually produce its slippage, its excess, and its difference.” Through such mimicry, the oppressed become a defective hybridity. Bhabha believes that such hybridity of the oppressed can be a way of resistance. For, while mimicry looks like an imitation of the oppressor, it is actually displacement, a mockery. See Bhabha, “Mimicry,” 85–86.

¹²⁸ Bhabha’s quotation from Jacques Lacan underscores another facet of the strategic nature of mimicry: “Mimicry reveals something in so far as it is distinct from what might be called an itself that is behind. The effect of mimicry is

The ironic compromise of Jesus in Luke, probably a form of both resistance and survival, places Luke in-between anti- and pro-Roman stances. The Lukan Jesus is not in accord with the religious/political system of the Empire but envisions an alternative system, the Reign of God (22:24–30). Yet, he also does not explicitly resist the Empire. To highlight Jesus' "innocence," Luke describes the Jewish leadership as making an uproar and forcing Pilate to release a "real" insurrectionist, while he portrays the Roman governor attempting to release Jesus. Not only the Jewish leadership, but Luke himself blames the opponents by appealing to the Romans' fear of insurrection (στράσις, 23:19, 25; cf. Acts 15:2; 19:40; 23:7, 10; 24:5). Consequently, Luke and the Jewish leadership form triangular relations: both as colonized, they compete to get favor of Rome, the colonizer, and simultaneously blame each other. Luke blames the Jewish leadership before the colonizer.

Luke's depiction of the insurrectionists shows that he shares the concern of security within the Empire. Through the scenes of trials and crucifixion, Luke contrasts the innocent Jesus not only with the Jewish leaders but also with other insurrectionists, including Barabbas and two other criminals on the cross. In his description of Barabbas, Luke emphasizes that insurrection goes with "murder" (23:19, 25). Barabbas appears on the scene not as his own character but in order to implicate the Jerusalem leadership's insurrection. By requesting his release, one who is in prison for insurrection and for murder, the Jerusalem leaders demonstrate themselves as a similar kind of criminal. Luke describes the two men crucified together with Jesus

camouflage. . . . It is not a question of harmonizing with the background, but against a mottled background, of becoming mottled—exactly like the technique of camouflage practiced in human warfare." Jacques Lacan, "The Line and the Light," in *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* (trans. Alan Sheridan; London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1977), 99, quoted in Bhabha, "Mimicry," 85. Lacan's warfare analogy of camouflage is an effective metaphor for the situation of the colonized, in which one faces his or her enemies much superior in number. However, insofar as the analogy of warfare presupposes the binary division between "us" and "enemies," it can not fully explain the hybridity and ambivalence in colonial literature, where colonizer and colonized are not clearly distinguished and resistance appears simultaneously with an "ironic compromise." If one keeps the metaphor, "becoming mottled against a mottled background," a protective coloration of animals may be a better metaphor than camouflage in human battle, because the changed color of an animal is not separate from "what might be called an itself that is behind," in Lacan's terms. Colonization is accompanied by the hybridization of identity, not just a change of "shape."

as “criminals” (23:31). Redactionally speaking, Luke’s substitution of “criminals” (κακοῦργοι) for “robbers” (ληστές) hardly shows that Luke is attempting to disconnect them (and also, Jesus) from anti-Roman sedition, because Luke’s audience would be well aware that crucifixion was reserved by the Romans especially for those who resisted the authority of Roman occupation.¹²⁹ In addition, the inscription describing the crime of Jesus as “the king of the Jews” clarifies the imperial context of the execution. Through the mouth of a criminal on the cross, Luke emphasizes that Jesus did nothing wrong, nothing deserving crucifixion, though the others being crucified have (23:41). Both Barabbas and the “criminals” of the cross are contrasted with the “innocent” Jesus, and consequently, Luke’s negation or blame carries over to the anti-Roman revolutionaries, who are also victims of colonialism. Blaming the victims, Luke places himself as colonizer and colonized at the same time.

In summary, it is in the city of Jerusalem, the space of the imperial religion/politics, that all the representatives of the Empire “gather together against Jesus” (Acts 4:27). Through the trial scenes before the imperial rulers—including the Sanhedrin representing the Jerusalem leadership (22:66–71), Pilate (22:1–5, 13–25) and Herod (23:6–12)—Luke demonstrates that Pilate’s final verdict of Jesus’ crucifixion is not a correct decision. The charges against Jesus come from the Jerusalem leaders’ self-serving concern for their own power. In the midst of their selfishness, however, the Jewish leaders also act within the concern for the security of the Empire. They accuse Jesus as an insurrectionist. However, as Luke shows, the Jerusalem leaders themselves stir up the people. They force Pilate into the crucifixion of Jesus and the release of Barabbas, an insurrectionist. Not only the Jerusalem leadership but also Luke himself places blame utilizing the concern for the Empire. In the process, a blaming the victims places Luke into a triangular power relation with Rome and with the Jewish authorities. While Luke blames the Jewish leadership, he also does not exculpate Pilate. As the Roman governor, Pilate declares Jesus

¹²⁹ Paul Winter refutes arguments that crucifixion was an established Jewish custom and shows that the Romans adopted this institution to inflict the death penalty upon rebellious slaves and seditious provincials. He says it was deemed to be the most degrading, most brutal mode of execution. See Winter, *On the Trial of Jesus* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter & Co., 1961), 62–66. See also Martin Hengel, *Crucifixion in the Ancient World and the Folly of the Message of the Cross* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 46ff.

“not guilty” three times. However, his decision is not supported by enough interrogation to demonstrate Jesus’ innocence nor is Pilate resolute enough to keep the judicial justice of Rome. A colonizer, his double personality is simultaneously cruel and ambivalent or irresolute. Jesus in Luke responds to the colonial duplicity with “ironic compromise,” which at the same time is an ambivalent resistance (23:3).

The end of the power of darkness

Despite his compromise with the Empire, Luke cannot be described simply as “pro-Roman,” because he holds a clear vision of the future, an alternative to the Empire. Luke’s vision of the coming Reign of God does not legitimate the present imperial religious/political system. As in the end-time discourse (21:5–36), Luke foresees the end of the Empire through the fall of the city, a stronghold of the imperial system set against Jesus in the narrative (23:28–31). Just as in the end-time discourse, where the devastation of Jerusalem (21:20–24) follows the persecutions of Jesus’ followers (21:12–19), Jesus’ prediction about the fall of Jerusalem on the way to the crucifixion (23:28–31) recalls a theme of Luke: that disaster upon the city is a result of its enmity against Jesus (cf. 13:33–35; 19:42–44).

“The days are coming”

In certain ways, the two predictions about Jerusalem—one included in the end-time discourse and the other in Jesus’ words on the way to the “Skull”—are linked. The images of pregnant women and nursing women and the apocalyptic languages used in the prediction (23:29–30) bring to mind similar images and languages in the end-time discourse (21:23, 25–26). The analogy of green and dry trees (23:31) also recalls the parable of trees, signaling the nearness of the end (21:29–31). Jesus’ foretelling begins with the phrase, “the days are coming,” after which he warns the women following him not to weep for him but for themselves and their children (23:28).¹³⁰ He does the same thing in the end-time discourse (21:6).

¹³⁰ Jesus calls them, “daughters of Jerusalem,” the terms which would represent not only the women but also those who inhabit Jerusalem or the city itself. See Johnson, *Gospel*, 372. See also biblical passages, e.g., LXX Ps 9:14; 72:28; Mic 1:8,

In the Gospel, the phrase, “the days are coming,” usually introduces a passage in which Jesus foretells some event or characteristic of the penultimate period. In three places, this phrase is connected with the fall of Jerusalem (19:43; 23:29) or the destruction of the stones of the temple (21:6). The same phrase is also used to indicate the time before the coming of the Son of Man (17:22–26). The first use of the phrase, in Luke 5:35, speaks of the days when Jesus will be taken away. This may only mean the point of time when Jesus is crucified, but the “days” in plural also include the span of time when Jesus is not on earth any more. In all the occurrences of the phrase, “days are coming,” the “days” coincide with the gloomy “days” (21:6), the penultimate period described in the end-time discourse (21:5–38), the unstable and painful time which is characterized by the suffering of Jesus’ followers and the devastation of Jerusalem. Through my analysis of the end-time discourse (Luke 21:5–38) in the preceding chapter of this book, I have shown that the gloomy picture with which Luke describes the penultimate period discloses his negative view of the reality dominated by the Empire. Moreover, as a characteristic event of the penultimate period, the devastation of Jerusalem anticipates the future event, a reordering of power by the coming Son of Man.

I have also shown that Luke integrates his gloomy picture of the penultimate period into his scheme of the two space-times, developing the time of “darkness” in particular. The predominance of the power of darkness has already begun. Although Jesus foretells the disaster upon Jerusalem as a future event, Jesus’ death and the 70 CE event are integrated in the same period in Luke’s scheme. The images of darkness reflect Luke’s understanding of the realities that he and his audiences face, and that link them to Jesus as martyr, a model of their own suffering. The curtain of the temple rent at the time of Jesus’ death (23:45b–46) also anticipates what will happen in the city (23:28–31).¹³¹ Despite this excessively gloomy picture of

13, 15; 4:8, 10; Zeph 3:14; Zech 2:10; 9:9; Isa 6:23; 16:1; 62:11; Jer 6:2; Cant 2:7; 3:5, 10; 5:8, 9, 15, 17; 8:4).

¹³¹ Note that Luke differentiates between the stones/offerings of the temple buildings, related to the donations of the rich (21:1, 5–6), and the narrative space he constructs, the temple, as the space of Jesus. Luke would understand the curtain of the sanctuary in a vein similar to stones of the temple buildings. See discussion in pages 107–109 in the previous chapter. For an extensive discussion of the curtain of the temple torn in two from narrative-critical perspective, see Dennis D. Sylva,

“the days,” God’s presence in the midst of darkness (23:46) supports the eschatological hope that darkness will be limited within God-destined time.

While the death of Jesus symbolizes the painful reality of Jesus’ followers, his exaltation offers a prolepsis of the coming Reign of God. The resurrection and the ascension or the Pentecost cannot replace the Parousia, because Jesus’ followers are continuing to live in the gloomy days even after the dramatic events. Rather, Jesus’ death and resurrection open a prolepsis and the beginning of the eschatological process. Several passages concerning the Son of Man support this idea. In the end-time discourse, Jesus speaks of the coming of the Son of Man (21:27). Although some events around and after the crucifixion are associated with the Son of Man, none of those events speak of his “coming.” At the Sanhedrin, Jesus says that the Son of Man will be *seated* at the right hand of the power of God (22:69). At his ascension, the eleven apostles witness Jesus lifted up in a way similar to that described in Daniel 7:13. Even this, however, is not his coming, because the two men standing nearby in white robes foretell that he *will* come (Acts 1:11). The Son of Man has not come yet, but he is seated at the right hand of God. Luke links the image, “seated at the right hand of God,” with the future judgment of God against the enemies of Jesus (Luke 20:42–43; Acts 2:33–35).¹³²

Two religious/political systems; two space-times; divided responses

Through Chapters Three and Four of this book, I have explored how Luke contrasts two religious/political systems: the religion/politics of Empire represented by the Jewish and Roman authorities, and the Reign of God represented by Jesus. Each of the two systems is set in its own space-time: one in the temple with the power of Jesus’ God and the other in the city of Jerusalem with the power of darkness. The Jerusalem leadership acts as a main character group

“The Temple Curtain and Jesus’ Death in the Gospel of Luke,” *JBL* 105 (1986): 239–50; and Joel B. Green, “The Demise of the Temple as ‘Cultural Center’ in Luke-Acts: an Exploration of the Rending of the Temple Veil (Luke 23:44–49),” *Revue Biblique* 101–4 (1994): 495–515. Sylva and Green take proper account of Luke’s positive view of the temple, but they do not fully consider that Jesus also warns the destruction of the (stones of the) temple buildings.

¹³² At his martyrdom, Stephen sees the Son of Man *standing* at the right hand of God (Acts 7:55–56). Does this imply that the Son of Man is ready to act?

throughout the narrative (Luke 19:45–23:56), plotting against Jesus and finally managing to fulfill the plot, sometimes collaborating with and sometimes in tension with the Roman governor. Luke describes the Jewish leaders in a primary allegiance with the religion/politics of Empire. I have also shown how Luke's scheme of space-time is eschatological and how the power of darkness shadowing upon the scene of Jesus' passion (22:54–23:56) reflects the gloomy reality of the penultimate period, while Jesus' overpowering in the temple anticipates the coming Reign of God.

Luke's contrast between the two space-times also produces an interstitial space. Placed in-between, the people function as an indicator of the power-shift. Although they are seemingly so powerful that the leaders fear them, Luke does not describe the people as anything more than the booty of the conflict. However, it is not only the people but also Luke himself that is placed in-between. To exonerate Jesus, who was crucified under the name of anti-Roman insurgent (23:38), Luke highlights Jesus' difference from Barabbas (23:19–25), from the two criminals on the cross (23:39–43), and even from the Jewish authorities, who have accused Jesus as one who stirs up the people while they themselves instigate the people to make an uproar (23:19–25). This emphasis has the result of placing him between anti- and pro-Roman positions. Furthermore, Luke is set into the triangular love-hate relations with Rome and with the Jewish leaders. Luke as one colonized contends with and blames the Jewish authorities, other colonized ones, for the favor of Rome, the colonizer.

Perhaps most remarkable of all, the dividing line between the groups representing the two spaces is not fixed. Although there are groups with unified characteristics in both spaces—e.g. the women who have followed Jesus from Galilee and never go away from him (23:49, 55–56), or the majority of the Jerusalem leadership—, some groups have divisions within them. These splits occur not only among Israel (2:34) but also among Romans, not only among the apostles (the betrayal of Judas Iscariot) but also among those who are under the power of imperial system. After Jesus is sentenced to death, the people grow silent again while the leaders mock Jesus (23:35). The crowd gathering “to see” the execution return home beating their breasts, a crowd among whom are likely some of “the people.”¹³³

¹³³ As I have already pointed in footnote 65 of this chapter, Luke distinguishes the “crowd” (ὄχλος) from the “people” (λαός). The “crowd” emphasizes the big size

While the Jerusalem leaders initiate the execution, among the council members is Joseph “from the Jewish town of Arimathea,” “a good and righteous man who has not consented to their purpose and deed,” who is “looking for the Reign of God” (23:50–51). There is further division between the two insurrectionists, crucified together beside Jesus. While one of them speaks ill of Jesus, the other recognizes that Jesus “has done nothing wrong” and aspires his Reign. Jesus promises paradise to him (23:39–43). Even among the Roman officials, there is the centurion who glorifies God and says, “Certainly this man was innocent!” (23:47).¹³⁴ The confessions of the insurrectionist and the centurion are significant, because they are the witnesses who see the crucified Jesus most closely. It is remarkable that the most active and positive responses toward Jesus’ cross are from a Roman official and from an insurrectionist, from the two poles of the triangulated relation. It is in this way that Luke opens the possibility of recognizing Jesus to people of all groups.

of the group, regardless of its composition. In 22:48, the “crowd” are those who gather “to see the sight.” This group excludes the Jerusalem leaders who initiate the execution, and also, Jesus’ disciples implied in 22:49. Such a “crowd” would be a group similar to that described in 23:27: the great multitude (πολὺ πλῆθος) of the people and women.

¹³⁴ The centurion’s confession hardly supports Luke’s pro-Roman stance, because a positive response to Jesus is not found only from him, but from every group of people. The second criminal on the cross (23:40–43) is more active and positive in his response to Jesus’ crucifixion.

CHAPTER FIVE

A CULTURAL INTERPRETATION OF LUKE 19:45–23:56: A SYNTHESIS

Starting from the hermeneutical premise that both the text and the reader are culturally located and affected by this location, and opening with a cultural topography of my own location, which I named East Asian global space, I have attempted an engagement with Luke 19:45–23:56 from my own cultural space. I focused my textual analysis on Luke's context of the Roman Empire and the cultural relations formed through this reality. Contesting previously established ontological and spatial dichotomies—such as politics vs. religion and this world vs. the other—and addressing neglect in existing scholarship of the Jewish leaders' colonial collaboration with Rome, I have explored a holistic way of reading Luke. Through a textual and thematic analysis of Luke 19:45–23:56, I have shown how Luke describes the eschatological Reign of God as an alternative to the religion/politics of the Empire, and how he contrasts the two religious/political systems through his narrative construction of space-time. Analyzing Luke's view in terms of the triangular power relations, I have explored how Luke's relation with Rome is complicated by third factors, including the Jewish authorities, the people, and the insurrectionists.

In this final chapter, I both summarize and combine the results of my cultural, textual, and thematic analyses to attain a comprehensive picture of Luke 19:45–23:56 from an East Asian global perspective. After a short discussion of the ethics of interpretation, I conclude this study with a theological reflection on Luke's view of the Reign of God and an assessment of how an East Asian global reading re-orientes scholarly considerations of Luke's eschatology in relation to his view of Rome.

Biblical interpretation as a life-giving discourse in East Asian global space

My interpretation of Luke seeks to initiate a discourse that counters the system of corporate globalization, a hegemony Rosemary Ruether

has described as “the latest stage of Western colonialist imperialism.”¹ Through my description of modern Korean history and cultural relations (Chapter One), I localized some of the problems that the hegemonic globalization produces. In the East Asian global space, where I locate my biblical interpretation, a global hierarchy has been planted and established through an American hegemony. Layered over the legacy of Japanese colonialism, the construction of the system of American globalization has been supported by an alliance of continuous regimes of dictatorship and the economic relations established by the dictators. An unstable system, it has been sustained only by exploitation of the workers, the suppression of dissent, murder, destruction of the environment, and an ongoing debasement of the people’s self-esteem.

Anselm Min’s theological interrogation of globalization is also relevant to a localized version of East Asian global space. He points out that “imperialist globalization” raises significant theological problems. It poses a “most fundamental threat,” the threat to human lives that have been created and are to be redeemed by God.

The demonic character of imperialism lies in its compulsion to absolutize itself and to resort to war over against any nation that stands in its way. Imperialism suffers from a built-in necessity to kill and destroy anyone and anything that resists its imperial will and from the preoccupation to maintain the most powerful military equipped with the most effective technologies of mass destruction.²

In terms of the “scope of evil and suffering it inflicts,” it is unlikely that any other historical human injustice is equivalent to the hegemonic globalization. The degrees of “evil” perpetuated suggests that hegemonic globalization is structurally central, setting the conditions for all other theological contexts. Min further condemns the imperialist globalization as a “sin against the triune God.” He continues:

Given its economic, political, and cultural cost, not to speak of its direct cost in terms of lives killed, disabled, and wounded, globalization by imperialism is quite easily the most oppressive structure ever invented by humanity, the most horrendous cause in the 20th century

¹ Rosemary R. Ruether, *Integrating Ecofeminism, Globalization, and World Religions* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2004), 2.

² Anselm Kyongsuk Min, “Imperialism and Resistance: A New Theological Paradigm in the Age of Globalization” (paper presented at the 5th International Whitehead Conference, Seoul, Korea, 28 May 2004), 17–20.

of artificial suffering inflicted on humanity created in God's image, and therefore the most demonic source and embodiment of SIN against the triune God. They are not just 'mistakes,' 'flaws,' 'tragedies,' or 'crimes,' but 'sins.'³

As a counter hegemonic discourse, my biblical interpretation seeks to contribute to a transformation of this evil into a system that gives, rather than destroys, life to and in the people. Because the transformation intended by such a biblical interpretation cannot be limited to personal, spiritual, or existential realms but also results in the change of social, cultural, and political life, my cultural interpretation delves into the latter dimensions of the texts in search of ways a biblical interpretation might prompt such changes. A biblical interpretation as a counter-hegemonic discourse pursues a reading life-giving in every aspect of life.

Hegemonic discourses and Christian teachings

As discussed, the unequal relations constituting corporate globalization have been supported not only by a material base (political societies) but also by the construction of discourses and ideologies (civil societies). In South Korean history, rulers lacking democratic legitimacy have attempted to produce "consent" to the status quo among the people through the discourses of modernization and development. At the same time, the ideology of anti-communism has provided the grounds on which the political establishment has suppressed its dissidents, blaming them as (pro-)communists.⁴ Conservative Christian teachings have reinforced the ruling discourses and ideologies. By demonizing North Korea and the communists, Christian teachings have supported an anti-communist dichotomy of "the enemies" and "us." In identifying Christianity with the capitalist economy, intentionally or inadvertently, the anticommunist teachings have

³ Min offers more in detail his triune perspective: "They contradict the dignity of human beings created in the image of God in their basic needs and rights, violate the solidarity of human beings called to communion as children of the Father and brothers and sisters of the Son, and thus sin against the Holy Spirit who seeks to reconcile and bring all humanity together into the communion of the triune God." See *ibid.*, 21.

⁴ Recently, the same dichotomy has been used by corporate journalists and the conservative opposition party to denounce the government. Although the Roh administration's policy is conservatively based, based on capitalist economy, the opposition party argues that the government is managed by communists.

aligned the Christians with the United States as the “mother country” of both Christianity and capitalism. While this identification allowed Christian churches a way to support the “national policy” of economic development, the churches lost biblical visions of alternative societies, visions formed through sufferings of the biblical people. Therefore, though Korean Christianity has achieved a majority position in the society, Christians have failed to be facilitators of social change on a par with the level of power which that majority might catalyze.

This history displays how Christian churches have both politically and socially reproduced their inherited ruling ideologies, thereby reinforcing the status quo. Ironically, by means of the era of dictatorships and subsequent administrations of a Protestant president, the majority of conservative Protestant churches condoned social injustices and justified their own ethical inactivity by a logic of division between politics and religion. Consequently, the churches reinforced two kinds of dichotomy: one an overt political rhetoric distinguishing between “the enemies” and “us,” and, the other, also political but concealed, a dichotomy between religion and politics. Recent years, the right-wing churches have become more candid such that they no longer proclaim a division between religion and politics, but actively align themselves with the society’s conservative protests against the reform policies of the new government. This Korean experience suggests that religion and politics cannot be so easily separated as some might imagine. The dichotomy itself is political, utilized for political purposes by both church leaders and state politicians.

The binary division between religion and politics is not a uniquely Korean phenomenon. Developed in the Western world, this modern logic is often utilized uncritically to interpret the ancient writings of Luke-Acts. For example, Hans Conzelmann’s “political apologetic” theory is largely based on such a dichotomy between religion vs. politics. In his *The Theology of St. Luke*, he argues that Luke sought to achieve a *political* compromise with the Roman Empire by showing Jesus’ ministry as *apolitical*. Taking little account of the Jewish leaders’ collaboration with the Roman Empire, Conzelmann simply identifies the former as “religious” leaders and considers the latter only as “political,” the “State.” This kind of modernizing interpretation, which has been followed by a majority of Lukan scholars, most of whom work in Western academia and rarely advocate

direct political interventions,⁵ reflects the interpreter's concern to trace contemporary social trends back *into* the Bible. These scholars—even those among them who attempt historical “reconstruction”—“integrate,” rather than “distanciate,” the text with the modern interpreter, in whatever way they would justify this integration hermeneutically.⁶ The selective integration does not take account of or reflect any experience or knowledge of colonial collaboration in the process of biblical interpretation.

Reading Luke against the hegemonic global culture

Contrary to the teachings of some conservative Korean churches, in which Jesus is *apolitical*, and contrary to the interpretations of Conzelmann and his followers, who understand Luke with a similar religion/politics dichotomy, Luke does not separate himself from the reality of Empire. Instead, Luke actively engages the unequal relations. While this engagement with the Empire is counter hegemonic, it is also ambivalent: resistance and compromise are intermingled. Luke produces the third space of the people, those who are further marginalized among the colonized.

Luke as a counter-hegemonic discourse

As a discourse counter to the Empire, Luke's understanding of the reality of Rome's domination (Luke 19:45–23:56) is negative and gloomy. As discussed in Chapter Three of the book, Luke develops his eschatology within this unstable and painful context (21:8–10, 12–24) and envisions the coming of the Son of Man as a reordering of power relations. At the end of the world, “this generation”, those who dominate in the penultimate period, will be displaced

⁵ Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza offers a good illustration of American biblical scholars' indifference to politics. In her Presidential Address delivered at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in 1987, she reports, “Since 1947 no presidential address [at SBL] has explicitly reflected on world politics, global crises, human sufferings, or movements for change. Neither the civil rights movement nor the various liberation struggles of the so-called Third World become the rhetorical context for biblical studies.” See her “The Ethics of Biblical Interpretation: Decentering Biblical Scholarship,” *JBL* 107 (1988): 9.

⁶ For Herman Waetjen's discussion on hermeneutical modes of “integration” and “distanciation,” see page 7 in Chapter One.

(v 32). God's judgment is prepared for the Jewish and Roman authorities who persecute Jesus' followers (vv 12–19). Using a narrative rhetoric of *repetition and development*, Luke describes the process leading to the end. While the end-time discourse (21:5–36) begins with the destruction of the temple buildings, it does not stay with the historical event, but expands to include the phenomena of the “days” (v 6b) (i.e., the reality of the penultimate period, vv 8–10, 12–24) and, ultimately, the end-time events (vv 10–11, 25–27). As Conzelmann and his followers maintain (e.g., Fitzmyer, Johnson, Schweizer, Ellis, and Bridge), the destruction of the temple in Luke is not the “sign of the end”. But, contrary to their argument, Luke does not “historicize” the temple event, thus severing it from eschatology. The temple stones fall apart and the devastated city of Jerusalem, experiences which Luke's audience would already have known, show that they are living in the “days” (v 6), that is, the penultimate period. The Jewish and Roman authorities' persecutions against Jesus' followers (vv 12–19) also display the situation just before the end (v 12a). For Luke's audience, the only event left in the future is the coming of the Son of Man with cosmic and earthly disasters (vv 10–11, 25–27). Because God's judgment upon the city of Jerusalem has already occurred (vv 20–24), Luke's audience might expect the next judgment of God to be the judgment upon the “Gentiles” or on the “nations” (ἔθνη), likely especially on the Romans (v 20; cf. Luke 18:32–33; Acts 4:25–28).

Dissatisfied with the lack of attention or awareness of the Jewish authorities' collaboration with the Roman colonizers in Lukan scholarship, I have shown how Luke treats the two simultaneously-religious-and-political powers as they function together. While the Jerusalem leaders and Roman officials are separate “characters” in the narrative, both serve the same hegemonic system, the religion/politics of Empire. Rather than acknowledge their real divine master and render to God what is God's (20:9–26), the Jewish leaders depend upon the power of the Roman governor (20:20) and are concerned for the imperial tributary system (20:21–22). In the court of Pilate, they regard themselves as prosecutors charging a rebel leader who has disturbed the security of the Empire (23:1–5). They claim that Jesus has forbidden paying imperial tribute and stirred up the people. Beyond this appearance, however, they are self-serving, not truly working for the sake of Rome. Neither the wellbeing of their own people nor the security of the Empire can be located

as the realm of their genuine concern. Rather, they care for their own status honor (20:46) and for their power in the temple (20:1–2). They even “devour” widows’ houses (20:47).

It is not only the colonized vassals whose loyalty is not genuine but also the Empire itself that does not really care for its dominated ones (21:20–24). As occurrences in East Asian global space and in other places of the world demonstrate, empires are not founded upon genuine trust. Rather, both colonizer and colonized vassals make use of their counterpart for self-serving purposes. Denouncing these imperial powers as “authority from men” (20: 3–4) and as the “power of darkness” (22:53), Luke uses the negative terms in order to connect the representatives of the imperial system with the Satanic force (22:3; 26:18).

Luke’s critique of the hegemonic system and his vision of an alternative leadership can be read clearly in Jesus’ farewell address at the Passover meal (22:24–30). In the address, Jesus uses the kings and rulers of the Empire as an anti-model in teaching his apostles what kind of leaders they should be. While the kings of the Gentiles lord over their subjects and the so-called “benefactors” exercise authority over them (v 25), the apostles are required to become as the youngest and as ones who serve (vv 25–26). This is the kind of leadership expected of the future leaders of the Reign of God (vv 28–30), that is, not to dominate but to serve. Contrary to Lull and Walaskay, who claim that Luke presents the “benefactors” as positive models of leadership, I have argued that this teaching of Jesus is given as a critique of the Roman patron-client system. In the system of hierarchy, a patron or “benefactor” (εὐεργέτης) was expected to provide social, economic, and political resources to a “client” reciprocated by the latter’s loyalty and honor to the former. In Luke, Jesus rejects both inequality and reciprocity, basic ethics of the Empire.

I find an interesting analogy between Luke’s use of the term “benefactor” in his imperial situation and my own experience of hegemonic globalization. For South Koreans, the “benefactor” has been an image for the United States. The Americans could be considered as “benefactors,” because they *liberated* Korea from Japanese colonialism (1945), *fought “for us”* during the Korean War (1950–1953), and *supported* Korean people with relief goods even after the war. For many older-generation Koreans, who experienced both the colonialism and the war, the United States is still “the benefactor.” For many of those of younger generations, however, the positive image

no longer holds, because their experiences have differed. During several decades of political dictatorships in South Korea, the US government did not *support* the people who yearned for democracy but upheld the dictators, including the three ex-military generals. Many Korean people are aware that the US army has not stationed and trained the US military in South Korea for the “benefit” of Korea but for the United States itself. Historical studies show that even the US army’s participation in the Korean War likely less about liberating Korea than about securing a bridgehead for the US against the USSR.

Such a split in opinion arises not only from different historical experiences but also from different experiences and views of present realities. Most of those who appreciate the US as a “benefactor” wish the present US-Korean relationship as “blood allies” to continue, because the status quo formed through an American hegemony “benefits” them, or they believe so. However, others want the present situation to be changed such that the two countries can be equal partners, because they believe that the United States benefits from, rather than benefits, the country in the present unequal relations. In fact, Korean pro-US groups consist mostly of conservatives who benefit from the status quo or who align themselves politically with the status quo. For each group, therefore, the term “benefactor” entails different meanings. For some, the US is still “the benefactor,” while for others, the country is a “benefactor” only in a pejorative sense. For the latter group of people, it is impossible for the USA to be a benefactor until the present hegemonic relationship between the two countries is altered.

Luke’s narrative construction of the alternative space-time

Luke constructs his counter-hegemonic narrative as a scheme of space and time. I have utilized the critical geographers’ understanding of space in its connections with time and with “geometry of power relations” in order to show how Luke produces a space alternative to the hegemonic reality of the Empire. Luke contrasts the two religious/political systems and sets each system in its own narrative space-time. The religion/politics of God in allegiance with Jesus is placed in the temple in the daytime, and the religion/politics of Empire represented by the Jewish and Roman authorities is located in the city of Jerusalem in the typological time of darkness. Luke

21:37–38 and 22:53 together elaborate on the dual settings. While Jesus is teaching in the temple in daytime, the people surround Jesus, and the powers of the Empire cannot lay hands on him. However, once “your hour” begins and the “power of darkness” predominates, Jesus is arrested and brought before the authorities of the Empire in the city of Jerusalem in order to be crucified. The two passages (21:37–38; 22:53) demarcate the two space-times: Luke 19:45–21:38 describes Jesus acting and teaching in the temple; and Luke 22:54–23:56 depicts the power of darkness as it begins to overpower the narrative until Jesus’ death. That which occurs on the day of crucifixion symbolizes “your hour” and the “power of darkness.” It is during the brightest time in the day when darkness comes over the whole land. The sunlight fails (23:44–45a).

Said’s notion of geographical imagination inspired me to understand Luke’s aspiration and construction of space as a struggle to reclaim his own cultural territory. Through narrative construction, *the temple in daytime with Jesus* is presented as a space not affected by the power of the Empire. This seemingly speculative construction is enabled by Luke’s differentiation between the physical place (the temple buildings) and the space constituted by social relations and in relation to time. Unlike Mark, Luke’s view of the temple is not antagonistic but positive. Luke not only constructs the temple as the space of Jesus where his opponents cannot lay hands on him, but also describes Jesus’ followers gathering together at the temple day by day (Acts 2:46). This does not mean that Luke accepts the temple as it is. Jesus in Luke, drawing attention to the noble stones and offerings of the temple buildings (21:5), likely donated by the rich (21:1), warns that the stones will be thrown down in the “days” (21:6). Though what occurs to the temple curtain hardly signifies the end of the institution itself, Luke’s positioning of the temple curtain torn in two in this context highlights the power of darkness (23:45b) and complicates understandings of the temple in solely positive ways. The temple can be an alternative space only in the narrative time of Jesus, the era in which Jesus overpowers those in allegiance with the religion/politics of the Empire. This space-time is eschatological. While the *power of darkness* (22:53), predominant in the *city of Jerusalem*, re-presents the unstable and painful realities, portrayed in the end-time discourse in such a gloomy picture (21:8–10, 12–24), the *day-time of Jesus* overpowering his enemies in *the temple* typifies the End, a space-time in which a reordering of power will occur in conjunction

with the coming of the Son of Man. It is in the very space-time symbolizing the eschatological Reign of God that Jesus in Luke gives his followers the end-time discourse (21:5–36).

Luke's manner of facing the Empire through his construction of eschatological space-time occurs in both direct and indirect rhetoric. Luke is direct in that he does not separate the Reign of God from the contest with the Roman Empire, as Conzelmann and his followers suggest he does. The Reign of God Luke envisions does not consist of a metaphysical realm but initiates a reordering of power in this world that is simultaneously both religious and political. And yet, Luke is indirect in that, though the End is not removed far in the future but will be established soon (21:28, 31), he defers the reordering until God intervenes in history, without any idea of human agency. In addition, Luke's Jesus does not engage in direct conflict with the Roman officials. Rather, Luke constructs opposition indirectly, offering its possibility through the Jewish leadership. This is one reason that those interpreters who do not acknowledge Luke's way of treating the religion/politics of Empire separate the Jerusalem leadership and the Roman, Pilate, in the passion narrative, and that they argue that Luke exculpates Rome by inculpating the Jewish authorities. In fact, in the passion narrative, the Jewish leaders take the initiative in condemning Jesus to death. However, contrary to many interpreters, rather than exonerating the Roman governor who could have been more responsible and resolute in keeping the judicial justice, the evil of the local leaders highlights how erroneous Pilate's decision of Jesus' crucifixion is.

Luke's indirect treatment of the Roman Empire reflects Luke's situation as part of the dominated, a situation found among many anti-colonial literatures where the most blistering denunciations are leveled not at imperial officials but at local leaders. Mary Tolbert's analysis of the colonial situation in Mark is also fittingly applied to Luke: "This ambivalence toward Rome, which may relate to early Christian hopes of winning Roman converts, can also be seen as another indication of the colonial situation: one avoids offending too greatly those with real power to harm."⁷

⁷ Mary Ann Tolbert, "When Resistance Becomes Repression: Mark 13:9–27 and the Poetics of Location," in *Reading From This Place vol. 2: Social Location and Biblical Interpretation in Global Perspective* (ed. F.F. Segovia and idem; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 336.

Luke as a colonial product: ambivalence and the triangular relations

Such indirectness and ambivalence toward Rome is one of Luke's characteristics as a colonial product. When Jesus in Luke speaks of the Roman system or talks to a Roman official, he rarely makes his position clear. When he foretells God's judgment on the Empire, the Romans are alluded as "the Gentiles" (21:24, 25) or barely implied when he mentions "prisons" and "governors" (v 12). His critique of the Roman patron-client system is leveled at the "kings of the nations" without an explicit mention of "Rome" (22:24–27). Rather than state it clearly, Luke pushes the readers to conclude on their own that Rome cannot escape God's judgment. In the end-time discourse (21:5–36), the description of the Jewish and Roman powers' persecution of Jesus' followers (vv 12–19) is followed by a sketch of the devastation of Jerusalem (vv 20–24) and thereby a foretelling of the disasters upon the "nations" at the End (vv 25–26). Because "what comes before prepares for and is assumed by what comes after,"⁸ the reader connects the three passages together in this order and concludes that what occurs to the "nations" (vv 25–26) is God's judgment upon the Romans who persecuted Jesus' followers but who have as yet remained unpunished. Jesus' statement at the Passover meal, "the Son of Man is going as it has been determined, but *woe to that man by whom he is delivered up*" (22:22), furthers the reader's conclusion by prompting the question: If Jesus proclaims woe to Judas Iscariot, one who only hands Jesus over and does nothing more (22:4, 6, 21, 22, 48), then what of the Jerusalem leadership and what of the Roman, Pilate, who both collaborate in Jesus' destruction, not only by delivering him, but also by receiving him, by being those to whom he is delivered (9:44; 18:32; 20:20; 24:20, 23:25, 24:7)?

In the two passages, where Jesus refers to the Roman system and talks directly to a Roman official, he does not speak explicitly. To the question of whether or not to pay tribute to Caesar (20:24), Jesus answers equivocally: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's" (v 25). When Pilate asks Jesus

⁸ Gillian Brown and George Yule, *Discourse Analysis* (Cambridge: University Press, 1983), 133–134, quoted from Joel B. Green, "The Demise of the Temple as 'Cultural Center' in Luke-Acts: an Exploration of the Rending of the Temple Veil (Luke 23:44–49)," *Revue Biblique* 101–4 (1994): 504. See also Green, *The Theology of the Gospel of Luke* (Cambridge: University Press, 1995), 12–13.

whether he is the king of the Jews, Jesus gives an half-negative and half-affirmative answer: "You are saying it" (23:3). By the two questions, one asked by those who were sent by the Jerusalem leadership (20:24) and the other by Pilate (23:3), the interrogated one, forced into a yes and no situation, chooses neither. These questions bear similarities with certain historical questions, including those that occurred in Korea and in the United States. The dissidents of the political, economic, and religious establishments are often coerced to take a position between two binary options: whether to declare oneself as a communist or to conform to the status quo, whether to side with terrorists (supporting the axis of evil) or to be a patriot, or, whether to be blamed as a heretic or to remain orthodox. Even though there are a wide range of opinions between capitalism and socialism or between being a Christian and a non-Christian, those who have power do not allow any other choice but yes or no. They make no distinction between "the terrorists" and "those who harbor them." To survive, or to avoid being marginalized or suppressed, one cannot but comply with the ruling ideology. The Lukan Jesus manages this trap by not surrendering to the dichotomy, rather responding to it ambivalently and with an ironic affirmation (or negation).

I analyzed this "ironic affirmation" of Jesus in Luke (23:3) utilizing Bhabha's conceptualization of "ironic compromise." By suggesting that Pilate considers Jesus' equivocal answer as innocuous (23:4), Luke attempts to show Jesus as complying with the interrogation of the Roman governor. However, Jesus' response is also similar to his reply to the question on imperial tribute in the temple (20:25): he refuses to answer the colonizers' question as yes or no. By offering the both-affirmative-and-negative response, Jesus in Luke resists declaring himself as conforming to the establishment. Instead, he chooses dissent in an ambivalent way. Thus, Luke both resists against and complies with the Roman Empire. This resistance strategy of ambivalence resonates with what Bhabha calls "mimicry" or with what Hutcheon calls "parody," strategies by which the literature of the colonized discloses the contradiction within the colonizer's own desire to be both the benefactor and the oppressor.⁹ In Jesus' address at

⁹ See Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Forms* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000); and Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).

the Passover meal (22:24–27), Luke exposes such duplicity of the Roman patron-client system as a mixture of aids and domination through his derogatory use of the term, “benefactor.”

Luke’s features as a colonial product are further complicated by the triangular power relations Luke has with the Jewish leadership and with Rome. In the end-time discourse (21:5–36), the Jewish leadership is set between Rome the colonizer and Luke the colonized. Even while Luke denounces the colonial collaboration in the passages describing Jesus’ debates with the Jerusalem leaders in the temple (20:1–20:44), their sacred city of Jerusalem is devastated by the very power with which they have collaborated. Consequently, the Jewish leadership, as symbolized by the city of Jerusalem, appear to be both profiteers and victims of the Empire, i.e., they are both colonial collaborators (v 12) and colonized (vv 20–24). And, though Jesus’ followers are described mainly as victims in the end-time discourse, Luke’s portrayal of Jesus’ trial before Pilate (23:1–25) suggests relations that are more complicated than simple victimhood. In the imperial court, the Jewish leadership aligned with the colonizer appeals to Roman concern for the security of the Empire. Here, it is not only the Jerusalem leaders who accuse Jesus as one who stirs up the people but also Luke himself has recourse to the sentiment of the Empire in order to undermine the leaders’ charges. Luke shows that the Jewish leaders themselves disturb the imperial judicial order by stirring up the people and even pressing Pilate to release Barabbas, who is an apparent insurrectionist and murderer (23:18–25). In a sense, Luke competes with the Jewish authorities in supporting a favorable view of Rome. As Said’s cultural topography insinuates, Luke as the colonized, despite his struggle for a liberated space, is placed in overlapping cultural territories in which his hybrid identity is a contrapuntal ensemble. Though colonized, Luke finds an image of the colonizer within himself.

I have shown how the concept of triangular colonial power relations provides a helpful guide for explicating both the Jewish leadership’s function as colonial collaborators and Luke’s own ambivalent attitude toward Rome. The concept of triangulation helps, not only to understand Luke’s position as doubly victimized by both colonizer and colonial collaborators, but also shows how Luke imitates colonizers, even as he himself is colonized.

Luke’s triangular relations extend not only to the Jewish leadership as the colonial collaborators, but also include another “triangle” between the “insurrectionists” and the Romans. This triangulation

has been already alluded to. When Luke accuses the Jerusalem authorities as ones who stir up the people, Barabbas the rebel is denounced as murderer (23:19) and used to highlight the Jewish leaders as disturbers. This triangulation continues as the two “criminals” crucified at each side of Jesus are condemned as “receiving the due reward of [their] deeds” (23:41). Although they are probably involved in anti-Roman independence struggles, Luke does not mention anything about such background. Instead, Luke clearly distinguishes Jesus from the insurrectionists, thereby locating himself between the two colonial poles, supporting neither the Empire nor the anti-imperial struggles.

Yet, even by not explicating Barabbas and the two co-crucified specifically as struggling “against Rome,” Luke does not do away with resistance to the Empire. Even though Luke does not choose what could be called “the way of the Zealot,” he still manages to convey a critique of the Empire, especially as represented by the patron-client system. By his critique of the imperial hierarchy (22:24–27), in this time, Jesus in Luke posits himself in opposition to Rome. Putting the Reign of God in clear conflict with the religion/politics of the Empire, Jesus confers on his apostles the Reign of God, a reign not of domination but of serving (vv 28–30). Ironically, this “leadership discourse” produces yet another marginalized space, what Bhabha calls “the third space.” As discussed, Luke’s narrative sets Jesus’ spaces-time in 19:45–21:38 and the space-time of imperial system in 22:54–23:56 as distinct, and the passages in-between (22:1–53), where the “leadership discourse” is located, convey the transition of power between the two spaces. Satan and Judas Iscariot both play significant roles in the power shift, and Jesus’ apostles are anticipated as playing the role of future leaders of the Reign of God. However, the people are totally absent in these passages (22:1–53). Rather than functioning as active factors of any system, “the people” appear as a passive indicator of the power shift. While they had surrounded Jesus and protected him from the evil plot of the Jerusalem leadership in the temple, the people in the city of Jerusalem are then mobilized, stirred up by their leaders, to support the plan of crucifying Jesus. Narratively, the people serve as the booty of a power struggle between the two systems. Luke’s discourse produces the marginalized “people” in an interstitial space. Because they belong to nowhere, they thus can be “antagonistic, conflictual, and incommensurable” to both sides. It is ironic that, in the discourse in which Luke most stridently opposes the Empire and is most clear in his

critique of the imperial system, he marginalizes the people, once the most powerful supporters of Jesus.

Poetics as ethics

The cultural analysis of Luke's "leadership discourse" alerts those who struggle with hegemonic systems to the dangers of re-exclusion or re-marginalization of and by those already marginalized. This problem also accompanies nationalism. Despite its strategic merit as an idea and practice of resistance,¹⁰ nationalism has frequently made itself a grand narrative and thereby concealed other issues of marginalization including class, race, and sexual orientation. Through this exclusion, the rhetoric of leaders can easily fall into a dichotomy of "us" and "them," through which voices of marginal groups within the nation are blamed as dissidents and as not "patriotic." Furthermore, nationalism can mutate into new forms of imperialism when the power hierarchy changes, just as the cases of the European colonizers, and also, of South Korea have suggested. This is a problem similar to what James Clifford lifts from Said's *Orientalism*, the "tendency to *dichotomize* the human continuum into we-they contrasts," including the contrast between the "Occident" and "Orient," and "to *essentialize* the resultant 'other'—to speak of the oriental mind, for example, or even to generalize about 'Islam' or 'the Arabs'."¹¹ This dichotomy can also operate in the other direction. In order to counter Western civilization, for example, Indian anti-colonial nationalist movements frequently "depended upon an Orientalist image of India as inherently spiritual, consensual, and corporate."¹² They used the affirmative stereotypes of Orientalism to define an authentic cultural identity of their own. Thus, Leela Gandhi suggests that Orientalist discourse was strategically employed not only by the colonizer but also by its antagonists. The affirmative stereotypes drawn on in this discourse constructed the East as a utopian alternative to Europe.¹³

¹⁰ For merits and pitfalls of nationalism, see my discussion in pages 37–39 and 42–43.

¹¹ James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 258. Italics are the author's.

¹² Richard Fox, "East of Said," in *Edward Said: A Critical Reader* (ed. Michael Sprinker; Blackwell, Oxford: 1992), 151.

¹³ Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 78.

Multiplicity of interpretations

In order to further elaborate those issues of nationalism and identity politics, I drew on Mary Tolbert's "politics and poetics of location." The combination of the "facts of blood and bread" in her politics of location forms a dynamic synthesis between postmodern critique of essentialism and the strategic effectiveness of identity issues for a political solidarity among diverse identity groups in the face of the racist, patriarchal constructions of modern Western society. Through her cultural analysis, Tolbert develops the "poetics of location," which attends to the multiplicity of interpretation affected by various social locations of the interpreter. For example, my cultural topography as partially constituted by inequalities in global relations influences my reading of Luke as a counter-hegemonic discourse. My intention to align myself with the marginalized people has stimulated me to read the text from an interstitial perspective in order to discern the ways in which Luke's leadership discourse re-marginalizes the people. For persons who read the same text in different cultural/interpretative spaces, the particulars of differing global and social locations would affect them and produce different results of the act of reading. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza maintains that these competing interpretations are not to be judged as simply either right or wrong, because "they constitute different ways of reading and constructing historical meaning."¹⁴ Thus, rather than affirming a detached value-neutrality, therefore, "an explicit articulation of one's rhetorical strategies, interested perspectives, ethical criteria, theoretical frameworks, religious presuppositions, and sociopolitical locations for critical public discussion" forms the paradigm for our discussion.¹⁵ Nevertheless, considering that all interpretations are rhetorical assertions that attempt "to persuade their audiences to accept certain values and roles over other values and roles,"¹⁶ biblical interpretations are not free of questions on the "validity" or "legitimacy" of interpretation. An interpretation needs to be responsible to its ethical

¹⁴ Schüssler Fiorenza, "The Ethics of Interpretation," 14.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Mary Ann Tolbert, "When Resistance Becomes Repression: Mark 13:9–27 and the Poetics of Location," in *Reading From This Place vol. 2: Social Location and Biblical Interpretation in Global Perspective* (ed. F.F. Segovia and idem; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 345.

results,¹⁷ especially when the text bears such power in the public and private lives of many people. Thus, Tolbert emphasizes that “a text as traditionally powerful as the Bible” ought to be assessed “not only on whatever its literary or historical merits may be but also on its theological and ethical impact on the integrity and dignity of God’s creation.”¹⁸ Consequently, a hermeneutics as rhetoric requires poetics to advance toward an ethics.¹⁹

In the present study, an ethics of biblical interpretation needs to answer the question prompted by my interpretation of Luke 19:45–23:56. “If an interpretation of Luke could contribute both to a counter-hegemonic discourse and to the re-marginalization of certain groups, how are we to choose or evaluate this range of readings?” The range broadens even further if we consider certain Christian political group’s use of the “eschatological vengeance” in Luke 21:25–26 in the area of contemporary global politics. While I include Luke’s implication of God’s judgment upon the Empire in the section

¹⁷ Schüssler Fiorenza proposes “double ethics” requested for a biblical interpretation. On the one hand, an *ethics of historical reading* moves the question from “what the text meant” to “what kind of readings can do justice to the text in its historical contexts.” She continues, “It makes the assimilation of the text to our own experience and interests more difficult and thereby keeps alive the “irritation” of the original text by challenging our own assumptions, world views, and practices. On the other, an *ethics of accountability* seeks responsibility “not only for the choice of theoretical interpretive models but also for the ethical consequences of the biblical text and its meanings.” See Schüssler Fiorenza, “The Ethics of Interpretation,” 15. However, there can be a conflict between the two standards of her ethics, because Schüssler Fiorenza requires recognizing “the ideological distortions of great works of religion.” Her ethics “does not just evaluate the ideas or propositions of a work but also seeks to determine whether its very language and composition promote stereotypical images and linguistic violence.” It seems that she attempts to remove the conflict through her thesis of “rhetorical situation.” For this, see the discussion that follows.

¹⁸ Tolbert, “When Resistance Becomes Repression,” 333.

¹⁹ Daniel Patte also founds his “ethics of interpretation” upon three points: (1) all interpretations are “multidimensional”; (2) and any given critical exegesis is “interested”; (3) while multidimensionality is necessary, an interpretation needs to be assessed according to its “accountability.” For this accountability, Patte requires a move from “androcentric” and “Eurocentric” modes of interpretation, which are not self-conscious about the contextual character of their interpretations, to an “androcritical” mode of interpretation, which are self-conscious about such contextuality. See Patte, *Ethics of Biblical Interpretation: A Reevaluation* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1995). For the three points, see especially chapter 2 in pages 37–71. See also David Penchansky, *The Politics of Biblical Interpretation: A Postmodern Reading* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1995).

titled as “Luke as a counter-hegemonic discourse,”²⁰ similar eschatological ideas have been utilized by some US politicians, by Ronald Reagan²¹ with the rhetoric of “evil empire” and by George W. Bush with the rhetoric of “axis of evil.” Schüssler Fiorenza, in her essay on the Book of Revelation, argues that eschatological visions can be understood as a “fitting” theo-ethical response, only where a *rhetorical situation* similar to that addressed by Revelation exists. Wherever such a situation is not the context of the evocation, the rhetorical power of the vision engenders not resistance, but rather projects evil onto others. Thus, the same vision can be used in an oppressive way, by focusing on the destruction and revenge.²²

However, it needs to be noted that the visions of judgment “with a panorama of messianic armies, holy genocides, divine ecocide, and all penetrating divine power” mirror and mimic the Empire, as Catherine Keller points out, and “the apocalyptic codes have routinely justified empire as well as anti-empire.”²³ What sort of rhetorical situation is similar enough to that of Luke’s persecuted audience (21:12) to legitimate the notion of divine vengeance? The politics of location indicates that questions of oppression and marginality are not simple but complicated by the fluidity and complexity of iden-

²⁰ See pages 203ff. of the present chapter. History shows that apocalyptic ideas have encouraged struggles against oppressive systems. See, for example, revolutionary millenarian movements described in Kenelm Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969); and Sylvia L. Thrupp, eds., *Millennial Dreams in Action; Studies in Revolutionary Religious Movements* (New York, Schocken Books, 1970). Recently, Allan A. Boesak, in his *Comfort and Protest: Reflection on the Apocalypse of John of Patmos* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), reports that the Book of Revelation inspired and encouraged the struggles against the Apartheid. See also Pablo Richard, *Apocalypse: a People’s Commentary on the Book of Revelation* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1995).

²¹ Reagan may have been a millenarian. He believed that “Gog” in Ezekiel 38–39 was Russia and the foretold Armageddon described the times he was going through. Stephen L. Cook, *Prophecy and Apocalypticism: The Postexilic Social Setting* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 40. See also Yehezkel Landau, “The President and the Prophets,” *Sojourners* 13/6 (June–July 1984): 24–25; Danny Collum, “Armageddon Theology as a Threat to Peace,” *Faith and Mission* 4.1 (1986): 61–62; and G. Clark Chapman, Jr., “Falling in Rapture Before the Bomb,” *The Reformed Journal* 37.6 (June 1987): 13.

²² Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, “Visionary Rhetoric and Social-Political Situation,” in *The Book of Revelation—Justice and Judgment* (ed. Idem.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), 192–199.

²³ Catherine Keller, “Preemption and Omnipotence” (paper presented at “An American Empire? Globalization, War and Religion,” Drew University, Madison, New Jersey, 25–27 September 2003), 4. See also idem, *Apocalypse Now and Then: a Feminist Guide to the End of the World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996).

tities constituted by various “facts of blood and bread.” Some elements of my identity would occupy marginalized position, but, in some aspects, I may belong to privileged groups.²⁴ Consequently, no human group can legitimately appropriate God’s vengeance against others. In order that an act of a resistance not become repression, Tolbert points out the need to develop sets of criteria for re-evaluating biblical interpretations in each situation. She proposes that these criteria begin from “the Christian affirmation of a Creator God of love”:

My own theological stance in discussing such an ethics in my particular context begins with the conviction, drawn from the Christian affirmation of a Creator God of love, that no human creation of God should be treated as less than human, as an object to be owned, abused, used, or ignored at will, nor should the integrity of creation as a whole be jeopardized by its human component’s greed, lust for control, and domination. Interpretations of the Bible that run counter to that conviction are the ones whose “truth,” “validity,” “legitimacy,” or “correctness” need to be questioned severely, whether or not they are historically defensible.²⁵

My biblical interpretation as a counter-hegemonic discourse orientated toward a life-giving enterprise admits the criteria Tolbert proposes and restates them in the East Asian global space. Interpretations of the Bible that support the reality of the hegemonic corporate globalization and legitimate or conceal its victimization of the people are those whose “truth,” “validity,” “legitimacy,” or “correctness” need to be “questioned severely.”

Conclusion

This project has been motivated by a concern for a biblical interpretation that functions as a life-giving discourse in the East Asian global space, given shape by a question on Luke’s view of the Reign of God in relation to the Roman Empire. Together, cultural analyses of my location as a flesh-and-blood reader and of the specific Lukan text (Luke 19:45–23:45) serve this hermeneutical concern and

²⁴ For Tolbert’s discussion of identity as “a constantly shifting, fluid set of subjectives, occupying a variety of status positions from moment to moment and context to context,” see pages 39–47 in Chapter One.

²⁵ Tolbert, “When Resistance Becomes Repression,” 346.

theological question. I conclude this project by attempting a response to the question on Luke's eschatology, exploring how my cultural interpretation might reorient the debates on Luke's theology. This theological conclusion does not represent the entire works of Luke-Acts but remains within the purview of the chosen text, Luke 19:45–23:56.

The Reign of God and Rome in Luke 19:45–23:56

While Luke-Acts as a whole is a mixture of delay and imminence motifs, in terms of time, the end-time discourse (Luke 21:5–36) supposes an audience living in the penultimate period (vv 9, 12, 24) and suggests that the End itself is near (vv 28, 31) though not immediate (v 9). Many portions of the discourse describe what occurs in the penultimate period (vv 8–9, 12–24). Because Luke's audiences have historically experienced false witnesses, wars, tumults, persecutions, and the devastation of Jerusalem, they would likely postulate the end as not far from their contemporary time. Luke teaches that, now when "these things" begin to take place, their redemption is drawing near (v 28), and when they see "these things" take place, they know that the Reign of God is near (v 30). However, Luke is not clear *how near* the Reign of God is.

In terms of space, Luke 19:45–23:56 neither mentions nor implies that the Reign of God is established in a metaphysical or transcendent realm. The Reign is futuristic (22:18), collective, and cosmic. The coming of the Son of Man is portrayed as the judgment upon the imperial powers who are ruling the world, a judgment symbolized by or described as the cosmic and earthly disasters (vv 11, 25–26), and the same event will terminate the supremacy of "this generation" (v 32). The coming of the Reign of God will cause a reordering of power upon this world.

My focus in this book has been on the power relations with which every space is imbued. As discussed, Luke's ambivalence makes it hard to clearly conclude what his stance was concerning Rome. Jesus in Luke neither forbids paying imperial tribute nor rejects the payments and thereby complies with the imperial judicial court. While the Jerusalem leadership initiates Jesus' execution, Pilate repeatedly declares Jesus "not guilty" three times (23:4, 14, 22). The Roman governor finds no crime deserving of death. However, Luke's seeming Roman compliance can be interpreted in an opposing way, too.

Although Jesus does not reject the imperial tribute, he also does not sanction the Jerusalem authorities' collaboration with Rome. The equivocal answer about rendering to Caesar and rendering to God (20:25) reminds the leaders of the need to acknowledge their genuine master, God, to whom their "tribute" is due. Likewise, Jesus' answer to Pilate's question in the trial (23:3) can be understood as ironic compromise, neither explicit resistance nor unconditional compliance.

Luke's negative portrayal of his contemporary reality, his description of the End as God's judgment upon the contemporary powers, and his critique of the Roman patron-client system (22:24–27) are clear depictions of Luke's non-acceptance of the Empire as political reality sanctioned by God. Although Luke does not deny the legal authority of Pilate's court, but rather describes how the legal justice is distorted in the imperial court, this does not mean that Luke demonstrates the fairness of the imperial judicial system through the court narrative. Therefore, neither Conzelmann's political apologetic theory nor Walaskay's upside-down version (ecclesial apologetic), both of which presume Luke's theological approval of the Empire, coincides with Luke's narrative. From an eclectic position, Walton argues that Luke "falls at both ends of the spectrum between Romans 13 and Revelation 13."²⁶ There is no textual support that Luke considers the authority of Rome to be instituted by God (Romans 13:1). On the other hand, Luke also does not describe the rulers of Rome as demonic figures as Revelation 13 does. Consequently, Luke falls at neither the pole of Romans 13 nor of Revelation 13. Such neither-nor-ness makes Walton's eclectic theory hard to sustain.

Cassidy's "third-way" understanding of Luke accords with my analysis better than that of Conzelmann, Walaskay, or Walton. On the one hand, Luke describes Jesus neither as actively supporting the Roman Empire nor as opposing any involvement in politics. On the other, Jesus in Luke does not follow the way of Zealot. Luke distances Jesus clearly from Barabbas, the insurrectionist and murderer (23:19), and from the two co-crucified, the criminals (23:41).

²⁶ Walton's theory proposes that Luke presents his audiences a strategy concerning Rome: "Where co-operation and mutual respect are possible, Christians should do nothing to harm those; where the empire or its representatives turn against the church, the Christian stance is to be twofold: to call the state back to its former ways and to bear faithful witness to Jesus." However, Luke's description of Rome is hard to understand as such a strategy, because he is not explicit in both cooperation and resistance.

Nevertheless, the “witness” part of Cassidy’s “allegiance-conduct-witness” theory, stating that Luke wrote in order to provide for his audiences some perspective and guidance for their own trial witness before political authorities,²⁷ is questioned. This theory does seem fitting for the situations in Luke 19:45–23:56, where Jesus’ followers are foretold as being brought before kings and governors to witness (21:12–19) and Jesus himself is interrogated by the imperial officials (22:66–23:25). However, if Jesus’ trial before Pilate is intended to provide for his followers a strategy for their own trial witness, is Luke really recommending to his audiences a strategy of ironic compromise and an ambivalent resistance? Is this the “mouth and wisdom” that none of their adversaries will be able to withstand or contradict (21:15)? This ambivalence does not support Cassidy’s own view of Luke as *explicitly* contravening the social order sustained by the Roman Empire. In addition, to further critique Cassidy’s view, does not Jesus also advise his audiences not to prepare a defense in advance (21:14)?

All four scholars I have discussed, Conzelmann, Walaskay, Walton, and Cassidy, understand Luke as presenting a strategy for the life of the Church situated in the Empire, whether it is a compromise (Conzelmann and Walaskay), a contradiction (Cassidy), or a combination of them (Walton). Such proposals about Luke’s church require a reconstruction (or construction) of the world behind the text, an endeavor beyond the scope of this project. Instead, Luke’s view of Rome can be read in terms of his narrative strategy. Located in the Empire,²⁸ Luke the writer of Jesus’ narrative faces the two contradictory needs: one involves the necessity of demonstrating Jesus’ innocence, without a crime deserving of death; the other involves conveying Luke’s own faith in the Reign of God, which is coming upon this world to reorder its power relations. Luke could appeal only to God for Jesus’ innocence, disregarding the authority of Rome. However, as for mission and survival, Luke needs to acknowledge the reality of the Empire. In terms of mission, Luke must persuade those who are living in the Empire. Because, to the people of the Empire, Rome has the authority to decide who a criminal is (in other words,

²⁷ Cassidy, *Acts*, 158–159.

²⁸ For a literary-critical concern of the worldliness of the text, which is distinguished from the historical-critical concern of the world behind the text, see my discussion in chapter one, especially in pages 6–8 and 47–49.

a sort of “enforced consent” is formed among the people of the Empire), Luke must prove that Jesus is not guilty *from the perspective of the Empire*. In terms of survival, Luke must prove that he himself is not a danger to Rome, because the Empire has the “material power” to harm the dissident. This is a situation of intellectuals, where they are living as colonized people. There is a need to face two colonial powers: one is the material power of the ruler, and the other is the ruling discourses widely accepted by the people. In order both to persuade and to survive, they are required to develop an ambivalent strategy. Consequently, Luke places himself in a narratively complex situation, in which he must use the authority of Rome in order to show that Jesus is the real Son of Man, the one who will destroy the hold of the Empire. Luke’s narrative strategy as ironic compromise springs from this complicated narrative situation.

Luke’s ambivalence concerning Rome has greatest relevance with regard to the timing of the Reign of God. Although he believes that the coming of the Son of Man is near, he is not clear how close it is. The Reign of God is near (21:31) but not immediate (21:9). The Reign of God can come sooner than expected (e.g., 12:45–46) but it can be also later than assumed (e.g., 19:11). This ambiguity with regard to time underscores the irresoluteness of Luke’s resistance. While an interpretation that emphasizes the alleged delay of the parousia may support Conzelmann’s theory of political apologetic, the recent scholarly consensus about Luke’s eschatology as a *mixture* of delay and imminence motifs supports my understanding of Luke as ambivalent with regard to time as well as in relation to the Empire.

An East Asian cultural interpretation and Lukan studies

I have presented a cultural interpretation of Luke 19:45–23:56 from an East Asian global perspective. This project can be described as an engagement between Luke, as a socially located text, and me, as a flesh-and-blood reader. My own cultural topography, that of South Korea emerging from US imperialism, is not of a sort that can be viewed or experienced *only* by a Korean. Rather, such dynamics form a facet of “global” experience. Nor do all Koreans understand this space in such a way. Therefore, my cultural interpretation of Luke cannot be essentialized nor generalized as “Korean.” By focusing on the hegemonic cultural relations that characterize the social location of both Luke and me as a reader, I have utilized some

hermeneutical considerations and cultural theories in my textual and contextual analyses in order to connect the two very different but in some ways comparable locations. I conclude the book with a summary assessment of how my perspective and methodologies have enabled a novel engagement with the biblical text. I also present a suggestion as to how this way of interpretation contributes to ongoing Lukan studies.

Various theories and methodologies were combined and utilized for my engagement with Luke. Informed by Massey's conceptualization of "the spatial" in relation to time and as constituted by social relations, I analyzed the text, the previous Lukan studies, and my own site of reading in terms of *space-time and cultural relations*. This spatial awareness also warned me against operating within the dichotomy of "this world" and "the other." As shown by Lefebvre's utilization of commodity fetishism in his theorization of space, space cannot be divided simply between the physical and the metaphysical. Postcolonial cultural analysis motivated me to attend to the unequal power relations, i.e., the Empire in Luke and the hegemonic corporate globalization in my contemporary context. An analysis of the way the American hegemony has been established in South Korea prompted me to consider the role of ruling discourses and ideologies and to explore how Luke responds to such constructions of ideas. This analysis also has motivated me to understand colonial collaboration as a significant factor in Luke. I explored how Luke describes the Jewish leadership as colonial collaborators with Rome and how Luke discloses his view of Rome indirectly through his portrayal of the Jewish authorities. I have found that Luke's view of the Reign of God and Rome is further complicated by these triangular relations.

Considering through these triangular relations, Luke 19:45–23:56 appears both as a counter-hegemonic proposition and as a colonial product. Said's notion of cultural topography enabled me to understand Luke's construction of space both as a struggle to reclaim his own cultural territory and as a colonial product formed in the midst of overlapping cultural territories. Bhabha's theory of colonial ambivalence, including the concepts of "ironic compromise," "mimicry," and "third space," served my understanding of Luke's equivocal and indirect way of facing Rome. The "third space" analysis also encouraged me to read Luke from the interstitial perspective of the people, disclosing the pitfalls of the leadership discourse. Read in this way, Luke appears to be involved in very complicated triangular

relations, not only with the imperial powers but with the insurrectionists, and with the people, resisting not only against the Empire, but also re-marginalizing “the people” as a powerless group.

Perhaps the context of imperialism that dominates Western scholarship on Luke has encouraged the bifurcated view of the gospel as either pro-Roman or anti-Roman. While clarity of identity and action or at least the assumption, if not the reality, of a clear identity and ability to act boldly are part of the privileges of the oppressors, the oppressed of necessity must live in ambiguity. The previous studies, rather than touching the (narrative) reality of Luke as colonized, have stuck on the bipolar choices between the two clear positions, probably because the scholars stay within the privileges of empire without proper consideration of them. Because our privileges are easily invisibilized as if they are “natural,” as Mary Tolbert observes, without deliberate assessment of our privileges, scholars can easily condone the imperialist ideas that affect their perspectives.

Luke is an excellent example of why imperialism works so well. Luke witnesses to the reasons Empire is so hard to overthrow, either because colonized people are brought in as collaborators or because colonized people who resist are required to speak and act with ambiguity and mimicry, not directly and boldly. This situation forces great complexity of action, thought and identity on colonized, who must live in ambiguity, mimicry, and eschatological hope. This complexity cannot be minimized simply by negating it, but a strategy with proper consideration of such situation is necessary, because a strategy based on the assumed clarity of identity frequently re-marginalize the victim.

Luke is also an example of what can happen to an ambiguous text of the colonized when it gets back in the hands of imperialists, who can overlook its ambiguities and read the text as actually fully endorsing Empire. On the one hand, it would show a limitation of ambivalent resistance as a writing strategy and questions whether ironic compromise and mimicry can effect a real change. On the other, it reminds of the significance of hermeneutics, i.e., hermeneutics as rhetoric. This is the point where the ethical categories of reading are required. A reading of such text as Luke, which is engaging with the Empire, should consider the social location not only of the text but also of the reader so that the reading would be life-giving.

Culture is not only a matter of embellishing life but also a set of serious conditions for human survival, decisive in both sustaining and

changing a society. For those who are marginalized and suppressed, and for those who align themselves with such people, a biblical hermeneutics is both a rhetorical and ethical enterprise. It cannot be undertaken as only personal, spiritual, or existential, because the constituent social, cultural, and political problems frequently threaten the people's life as spiritual and existential persons. However, social changes also cannot substitute for the conversion required in personal dimensions. Launched toward a holistic hermeneutical enterprise, this study considers the valuation of the totality of life as both the location of biblical interpretation and as a goal of transformation. This goal means my present work is ever incomplete, prompting me to further my search for biblical interpretations that vivify every aspect of human life and every sector of the global community.

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